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THE WOMAN VOTER

ORGAN OF THE WOMAN SUFFRAGE PARTY

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PARADE NUMBER

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The Woman Voter

ORGAN OF THE WOMAN SUFFRAGE PARTY OF NEW YORK

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TO THE MEN AND WOMEN IN THE STREET

WE dedicate this number of THE WOMAN VOTER to you, Men and Women in the street. As our great parade passes, you will be lined in throngs to see us march.

It may be that you have come to laugh. You hope that there will be something amusing in the sight of thousands of marching women. Having read the quips and sallies of semi-humorous papers, which like Life, represent suffragists as strong-minded females, tight-haired scolds, mannish creatures in freakish garb, radiating hostility to men and sourness to the world, you rather expect the parade to be a living caricature of this familiar type. But you will be disappointed. Perhaps you will confess, as did many spectators of last year, that you came to laugh and remained to pray.

Possibly you have come because you are curious. You know that there is a great deal of talk, nowadays, about woman's rights, and you wonder vaguely, what it is all about. You see our banners, "Votes for Women," you read "Women Vote in China," you learn that "Women Vote in Colorado, Wyoming, Utah, Idaho, Washington and California" and you wonder when it all happened. This, we say, is your great opportunity to learn. No matter whether you will ultimately be for us or against us, at least you owe it to yourself to become intelligent about one of the greatest and most widely discussed topics of the day. For this parade represents, not only the women of New York, but women throughout the entire world, united in the greatest struggle for liberty in all history.

As you watch our passing divisions, you will see mothers who are giving their lives to prepare a new generation for the world, but you will be reminded that they have no power to shape the conditions under which their children shall live.

You will see an army of toilers, the world's workers, without whom industry would be paralyzed. Perhaps a memory of the great Triangle fire will flash into your mind; it may occur to you that after all, these women work under hazardous conditions. Do you realize that the ballot can change our industrial situation? Did you ever hear of a living wage and an eight-hour day?

When the lawyers pass by, remember this: they are trained in the law, they plead cases in the courts, they understand the powers and problems of government, but their political judgment is less valuable to society than that of an unlettered immigrant who qualifies for citizenship.

As you notice the division of social workers, consider that they are devoting their lives to those whom the rest of you forget. They work to bring light, air and sanitation into dark tenements, to provide education and recreation for the young in neglected districts. They have no merely selfish interest in the ballot. They will use it to make the world a better place to live in.

You will see writers, whose views you read and quote; ministers to whom you entrust your spiritual welfare; doctors whom you willingly give power over life and death; teachers who are shaping the citizens of the future; and you class all these women whose service to the community cannot be estimated, with paupers, insane criminals and idiots.

Perhaps, as the rank and file pass by, women of all creeds marching together, you will suddenly realize the meaning of our protest. You will understand that we ask only to be considered people, human beings worthy of a voice in making the laws we obey. You may wish to know more about our cause; you may wish to help us; at any rate, you cannot help feeling that this suffrage movement is worth understanding.

Among you, men and women in the street, are some who came to see friends marching. You came, half patronizingly to wave and smile as the line went by. You are not opposed to woman suffrage; it simply doesn't interest you. You have not sufficient concern in larger things to become active, but you are glad that your friends have vital interests. It keeps you from being bored occasionally. When you see the light in their faces as they feel the thrill of a common cause, are you not sorry that you have not enough enthusiasm to be carried along by a great purpose?

And if you are really one of us in your heart, but feel afraid to march because you might get tired, or some one might laugh, or your presence might be misunderstood, then we are sorry for you. For we know that you will be ashamed when we march on; we know that you will wish that you had the courage of your convictions. And we hope, that next year, you will be, not the men and women in the street, but the men and women in the suffrage parade.

WHY WE MARCH

A Symposium

THE NECESSITY OF THE WOMAN SUFFRAGE PARADE.

UNDOUBTEDLY many of our New York citizens, men and women, who stand upon the curb and watch the great suffrage parade as it sweeps past on May 4th, will be wondering why such a demonstration is necessary.

In the first place, it is invaluable if only to limber up the minds of the conservative people who ever draw away from anything new or unusual. This parade which is considered such a startling thing, this body of earnest women walking through one of the cleanest and most beautiful thoroughfares of their home city, and inspired by the advocacy of a cause which lies nearest to their hearts, must become to every one, just as natural, just as sane and just as simple a thing as to see a woman in the park wheeling a baby carriage. It is strange indeed, how the salient manners and customs of any country center around those bonds and limits applied to the woman of that country. In one country they may not walk on the feet that they were born with and still be considered perfect ladies; in another, they may not appear with any feature of their face showing, while in still another, they may show their eyes but no other feature. In one country anything like a trousered effect would be scandalous; in another, this is the feminine fashion. In another one it would be shocking and impious for a woman to set foot within the religious edifice of the nation; in another, it is most unwomanly if she does not attend church and accompany her children to the Sunday school; in another, she may not appear at a business place; in another, she does all the shopping. Not so many years ago the newspapers in Boston were full of the fact that Margaret Fuller was so lost to propriety that she actually went into a public library, took a book and started to read. So we might go on indefinitely showing that in every country there are many special taboos directed toward the women of the community.

It is well every time anything can be done to loosen up the bonds that hold the minds of men and women in this artificial relation towards women's activities. That is one of the many social aspects of the woman suffrage parade.

Much can be said about the splendid effect of the camaraderie and spirit of co-operation and solidarity upon the women themselves. Indeed, everything that can be said in reference to this parade *is* in its favor, and there are so many beneficial aspects that it would take a dissertation to cover them all. In the space assigned to me, I shall emphasize the political aspect of the matter from the point of view of the Woman Suffrage Party. More and more it must be realized that a great deal of our basic work has to be done by assembly districts. That must be true just as long as an Assembly and Senatorial District remains the unit which sends members to our State Legislatures and as long as these members hold in their hands the power of granting or withholding the woman suffrage amendment to our State Constitution.

Every one understands that our Assembly groups in the parade will be in no wise indicative of the enrolled membership in the Assembly Districts, for only a certain number of women will choose to parade as political workers in the Assembly Districts. There are so many other ways in which on a professional or artistic basis women may feel called upon to classify themselves. Then a great many of our district enrollments in the Party are men. Of these, the Party has at the present writing, April 15th, already sent in over three hundred names to swell the ranks of the men who are willing to come out and show the world that they are standing by women in this struggle. It is eminently worth while for the politician and the man in the street to realize as the Assembly Districts pass, each under its banner, that the suffrage question is coming home to every section, every block, every street, every habitation in this great City of New York—this city which is the great hope and the great problem of all suffrage workers.

The thoughtful person who watches the woman suffrage parade will see in it an ocular demonstration that women are to be found in nearly every walk and industry of life, and also that they are banded together with serious determination to make the woman suffrage question a political issue. The fact remains that none of our imaginations are so vivid, but that a visible demonstration of any fact or truth clarifies and intensifies our knowledge of it.

Even the people who know something about the Woman Suffrage Party will through the medium of the parade actually see that movement in concrete form.

Harriet Burton Laidlaw,
The Woman Suffrage Party.

WHY I MARCH IN THE PARADE.

I march in the parade because I wish to flaunt in the faces of the smug, indifferent, or derisive public, who will line up alongside of it, the fact that, in spite of their respectable ignorance, the progress of human liberty has not stopped. I wish to give the newspapers, which have so long satisfied themselves with two-cent tariff manipulation and petty "personals" for political news, a chance to devote three or four columns to a movement that has some significance for the human spirit, and that history will remember. I also wish to allow those people who are temperamentally uninterested in *institutions,* to see before their eyes that this movement is far more than a fight for a reform in the institution of government. It is the vital and visible expression of a great change in the spirit of civilization. And those who cannot themselves care about voting or about politics, will be able to feel and observe on this occasion that profounder change, that revolution in the conduct and social feeling of men and women, which the electoral reform will but serve to express and promote.

MAX EASTMAN,
Men's League for Woman Suffrage.

THE WOMEN'S TRADE UNION LEAGUE.

THE Women's Trade Union League will march in the suffrage parade on May 4th because it represents a body of organized working women who believe in the economic and political liberty of women. The ballot, we believe, is one of the weapons through which industrial as well as civil enfranchisement may be obtained. In the League platform, together with the demands, "equal pay for equal work," "eight-hour day," "minimum wage scale," is the equally important plank, "full citizenship for women."

There are matters affecting the life and health of working women which must be remedied. In factories and laundries, offices and sweat-shops, there are thousands and thousands of working women, making needles or ironing shirts or combing willow plumes under unhealthful and degrading conditions: long hours, meager wages, evil sanitary conditions, inadequate fire provisions are the reward of their entering industry. The worker alone is helpless, and even more so, the woman worker, to remedy these conditions.

Like their brother workers, women must organize into trade-unions. But neither as individuals nor as a body, will working women achieve their full power until they have organized on political as well as industrial lines. The women's movement is undoubtedly greater than the ballot and the labor movement greater than the trade-union; but for organized working women to-day these are the weapons at hand. Through these weapons each movement will come to its fullest expression, and by the use of both, the women's labor movement may rise to its fullest achievement.

COLLEGE WOMEN AND THE PARADE.

We march in this parade because we believe that college women see the country's needs, and that they should be enabled to act directly, instead of wasting energy in circuitous "influence."

We believe that the educated women, even as the educated men, are peculiarly responsible for the law and law-enforcement in this nation. We believe that everybody broken through criminal negligence in mine and mill and factory, every child wasted through criminal greed over lathe and chute and furnace, every soul revolting at its unnecessary misery, or calloused through its excess of power—every evil condition which the laws and their enforcement condone or permit—is a stigma upon our educational record. It seems to indicate that the schools, the bulwark of democracy, have taught us nothing of good citizenship.

Nevertheless we are confident that knowledge is power—power to see the truth. And we feel that one great reason why our schooled democracy is ineffective is this: that with all of their brain-development, one-half of America's citizens are denied the power to act. The nation is paralyzed. Everywhere one-half of the political organism lies inert. So we say, stimulate this sleeping tissue, let it react and work within the whole; and then see whether American democracy has failed.

Therefore we march in this parade not merely to step with bouyance behind the fife and drum, but to voice it to the world: "You have allowed us to see our nation's needs. Give us the power to act! When we hear cries let us, too, hasten to the danger. Where we see chaos let us, too, help to set the world at peace."

F. E. ALLEN,
Collegiate Equal Suffrage League.

THE WORKERS AND THE BALLOT.

THE trade-union women are marching in this parade because they, the workers, have a greater number of grievances than any other group of women and by securing the vote they believe they will be able to change the conditions under which they work. It is the labor woman who is directly affected by inadequate labor and social legislation, and by the lax enforcement of these laws.

By organization, women have been able to help themselves and working men on the industrial field, and they are now ready to help on the political field. The working woman is awake! She has realized the importance of having her say in the laws under which she has to work. In the parade she is going to show the world that she is determined to have a voice in the Government.

CLARA LEMLICH.

WE ARE THE ONES TO DO IT.

IN one of Dickens' stories there is an odd, old fellow much given to remarking that he is "the man to do it." Now working women are convinced that we are the ones to do, or at least, that we are essential to the doing of a very great thing. Life to-day, with all its beauty and all its possibility, is made hideous by economic injustice and oppression; oppression that must be stamped out. We—and all the workers of the world—are the ones to do it!

So, we shall march for suffrage, because we are needed, because we have needs, and because we have faith. What movement could be great without us? Upon us has fallen a heavy burden. It crushes us, but it makes us vital. All day long and sometimes into the night we are hounded by work; when shall we find time to think? Yet, with our minds inactive, the world can not think its greatest thoughts. The weight of our burden is all absorbing, yet unless we face the problems of our day, they can not be solved. No one can think for us; no one can solve the problems without us. It is we who are necessary.

And we have many needs—needs of short hours, high wages, sanitary workshops and homes, fire-protection, compensation, education, libraries. It is idle to tell us that the ballot alone will not secure us all we need, and that there are methods of obtaining these things without the ballot. You might as well object to a woman's heating her dish-water because she might possibly be able to wash her dishes with cold water and soap, or even with hot water she might not need soap! We do not intend to abandon other means when we possess the ballot. Having a big task on our hands we intend to secure every available help. And the ballot helps—tremendously.

Finally, we have faith. Faith is a difficult thing to hold. Sometimes we nearly lose it. We see one fire cause one hundred and fifty-six admittedly needless deaths. There is a furor of protest. But one year later thousands of equally bad firetraps in the same city are still running as factories. We know that child-labor has been denounced for seventy-five years, and hundreds of children still work in our New York tenements daily. We still work at certain trades under conditions known to be so deadly that the average life of an employee is five years, three or two years. We think of all the ages through which men and women have striven for freedom—and it is yet far off.

But we dare not doubt the ultimate victory. A few of us here and there lose faith, and the fight is weakened by so much. But hope lives on in braver souls and springs ever fresh again in younger hearts. Some day the wrong shall be righted, the end attained. We are the ones to do it. So we press forward, eagerly grasping every power that can strengthen us. And so we march for suffrage.

THE WAGE-EARNERS' LEAGUE.

WHAT is this section coming along? They are carrying green, white and red flags. Why, my friend, the onlooker, it is the Wage-Earners' League, out to show the world that the working woman has arrived.

This splendid section of women is significant because it brings together two great world movements, Labor and the Feminist Movement. The working woman is fast realizing that in the possession of the vote she has the weapon with which to safeguard her interest and bring about the legislation necessary to the welfare of the laboring class. Without the vote she is powerless and a drag on the working man. In the victory of woman's enfranchisement she sees a great future opening to her. That's why she is out to-day; to prove she has the courage of her convictions and is willing to show the world that she is *on the job!*

ELIZABETH FREEMAN.

MISS ROSE COGHLAN, a stage favorite with many New Yorkers, has recently joined the Woman Suffrage Party. Miss Coghlan is at present playing in one of the vaudeville circuits. She enacts the rôle of a woman running for the governorship of her State and says that the part suits her to a "T."

THE Labor Council of San Francisco has initiated splendid work among the women voters by organizing a series of non-partizan civic clubs to promote interest in humane legislation. Acting as a unit in such issues as child labor, minimum wage, tenement house reform and other social measures, the women of the State may become a powerful agent for promoting the common good.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE AND THE N. Y. LEGISLATURE

By

E. Jean Nelson Penfield

THE LEGISLATURE OF 1912 AND GOVERNOR DIX.

UNLESS Governor Dix yet calls a special session there is no hope of taking an equal suffrage amendment to the voters of the State in 1913.

The Woman Suffrage Party has petitioned Governor Dix to call a special session. Will he do it? Undoubtedly not unless something unusual happens, as he has sailed evidently with no such thought on his mind. It is the business of the suffragists of New York State to see that the unusual happens and not sit calmly down and take defeat as though we liked it. We believe, all organizations uniting, such a demand can be made (and without militancy), that the Governor will not fail to heed. If called only for the consideration of the Suffrage Bill, the special session would be only for the Senate, as the Assembly has registered its vote on the Murray Bill as required by the Constitution. The Stilwell Bill was defeated in the Senate when a number of our friends were absent. The Senate was denied opportunity to act upon the Murray Bill by trick procedure in the Assembly when we had every reason to believe our bill was to be advanced. Because of such insolent and intolerable injustice, which, if not rectified, will burden the women of the State with two additional years of hard labor in their fight for the measure of justice which is being accorded the women of other States on every hand, we ask Governor Dix to act and he should do so.

THE HISTORY OF THE MOTION THAT CUVILLIER USED TO KEEP THE MURRAY BILL FROM GOING TO THE SENATE.

THE Assembly rule which allowed the motion to reconsider to be made by Cuvillier, a man who voted on the defeated side, is discountenanced by all decent American usage.

For the benefit of our legislators who year after year accept the New York procedure without question (perhaps because they know no other) and also for the benefit of the public, we desire to call attention to authorities on the subject and to tell how the rule in question was first written on our Assembly records.

First, what is American usage in regard to reconsideration of a vote? Thomas B. Reed says (and similar quotations could be made from Jefferson, Cushing, Roberts and all other recognized authorities): "Only a member who voted with the prevailing side has the right to move for a reconsideration, it being a natural presumption that if no one who was of the prevailing party desires to reconsider his action an attempt to reconsider would be but a waste of time. The general rule of procedure is that when the assembly has come to a decision, that result shall be regarded as final and this is absolutely necessary for the orderly action of the assembly itself."

In England the motion to reconsider is not known. "So far is the doctrine that a member knows what he intends the first time carried there, that members who go by mistake into the wrong lobby are counted there." After discovering the unusual ruling honored by the Empire State, the procedure of many more than half of our forty-eight States was examined, with the result that it was found that of those examined only one State has such a rule, while several others not only require that the motion to reconsider be made by one having voted on the prevailing side, but that it be also seconded by two others who so voted.

Next we wish to give a very brief history of how the New York Assembly placed upon its records in the year 1875 the rule which still disgraces it. One should get the historical setting to appreciate the situation. Tweed's days were over, but the "Canal Ring" was enjoying its best "pickings." The Democratic Party, with Tilden leading the State ticket, had just swept into power; a Democratic senator from New York was sent to Washington for the first time in nearly thirty years, and, had it not been for a Republican Senate, elected in 1873 and for Roscoe Conklin, then U. S. Senator from New York, Democratic rule would (at least on the surface) have seemed supreme. We must remember, however, that although the Republican machine had suffered a temporary defeat and although Tilden, by his fearless prosecution of the "Canal Ring," was to win in popular favor, the Republican machine had a powerful grip over State affairs—a grip which it sought to tighten in every way. One way that it found was through the Legislature. Just coming into political prominence and great popularity was the man who, the year before, had

been Speaker of the Assembly and who was afterwards to serve five more terms in the same capacity—James W. Husted, of Westchester Co., who, at that time, had been a member of the Assembly for six years. Nominated by his party for the speakership in 1875, he was defeated by the majority candidate, Jeremiah McGuire, of Chemung Co.

From the Westchester Co. *Manual* we get the following description of Husted:

"Like most men, he had a hobby, and that hobby was up-to-date politics; he enjoyed it as labor and as recreation alike, in season and out of season, and none excelled him in cleverness at the pastime."

Keeping this picture of the minority leader of the Assembly in mind, read the following from the opening speech of the man whom the Democratic majority had elected Speaker and you will not wonder that he was putty in the hands of a man like Husted, whose interests and character were better known to the public after the Hughes insurance investigation than they had been before.

In his opening speech Mr. McGuire said:

"Untried in the capacity of presiding over a deliberative body like this, and with but limited experience in parliamentary practice, I feel a misgiving, a distrust, a want of that intuition, tact—that quick perception—that indescribable something so indispensably necessary to a proper and successful discharge of the duties of the office. Confessing my inexperience, I have no doubt, however, that I can preside with the strictest impartiality, ignoring all partizanship, administer your rules with fairness and recognize the rights of the minority."

Thus assured of the Speaker's desire to consider the rights of the minority, Mr. Husted, with his belief in "up-to-date politics," proceeded on February 2 to offer an amendment to rule 51 which eliminated the clause prohibiting any one except "a member who voted with the majority" to move reconsideration of a vote. Mr. Sherman, Chairman of the Committee on Rules, offered a substitute motion but seems to have yielded finally, as the Husted amendment carried 93 to 0, and we see a weak majority virtually in the hands of a strong minority now privileged with its shyster rule to temporarily block the mill and waste the time and patience of the majority at pleasure. That this situation suited the leader of the minority in the Assembly who worked in conjunction with his Senate majority can not be doubted.

That in and out of the Speaker's chair, as he was for so many years, and with his strong personal following, such a rule continued to suit such a leader, is not strange. Neither is it strange that with one slight change in '79 (which seems to have been one of Husted's "off years") the rule remains virtually the same as in 1875. In 1879 the present wording was adopted and the "majority member clause" was again inserted with the limitation, however, that it should not hold in case of a vote on the final passage of a bill. It was on the final passage of the Woman Suffrage Bill that Cuvillier made his motion and covered it by the usual second motion to lay the motion to reconsider on the table. Again, those familiar with the principles upon which parliamentary procedure is founded and knowing the accredited use of this double motion, see a gross distortion and abuse of privilege! But there is not space to consider this as there is not time to deal here with the even worse Senate rule on reconsideration which has existed for a century apparently unchallenged—perhaps for the same reasons the Assembly rule has been preserved, viz.: ignorance on the part of some and willingness on the part of others to profit by the shyster rule. That the Senate rule was the inspiration and excuse for the Assembly's backward step cannot be questioned, any more than that both rules are doomed to extinction when our representatives at Albany cease to be the milling tools of shysters and tricksters and do a little thinking for themselves.

It is absurd to waste indignation on such a fellow as Cuvillier because he used a trickster's motion to block a measure which the people in this State who stand for justice, had every reason to expect would be advanced. He simply used the tools at hand for his dirty job. The shame is that such tools were at hand and the disgrace in this particular case is that there were at least four men registered as the women's friends so quickly ready to help the trickster turn his trick. Is it possible that Macdonald, McCue, Sullivan and Thorn counted upon the ignorance of the women?

E. Jean Nelson Penfield.

LEGISLATIVE CALENDAR.

THAT our readers may understand just what happened this year in Albany, we give the following calendar, with notes, which should be preserved for reference.

January 3. Bill introduced in Senate by Senator Stilwell.

February 8. Bill introduced in Assembly by Mr. Murray "by request."

February 21. Senate Judiciary Committee reported bill favorably, Senators Bayne, Stilwell, Griffin, Burd, Newcomb, Wainwright and McClelland voting in favor; Hinman and Block against; Coats, Ferris, Fiero and Wagner absent.

February 27. Bill placed on General Orders in Senate.

March 7. Bill reached on General Orders

(*Continued on page 26*)

THE INLAND FARMER

By Sarah Noble-Ives.

Illustrated by the Author.

V.—MELISS REBELS.

THESE Winter days is mighty slow; too cold ter work outside, ye know. An' yistiddy, when I come in from shuckin' corn an' winnowin' an' potterin' around the barn, I found Melissy with her yarn—knittin' an' sewin' all fergot, readin' a book. An' I says:

"What ye up to, Girl?"

She never heard, ner looked at me, ner said a word. I shed my boots an' coat an' hat, an' spread my fingers out ter thaw, an' says:

"What air ye readin' at? What in tarnation——"

Then she give one glance, an' says:

"I'm readin' Law: learnin' what rights we have ter live—we wimmen. An' I'm findin' out that Law ain't *fer* us, but *about;* fixed up ter suit a man's idees—not what we *want* but what they *please*. When wimmen vote (I wisht they could!) we'll change them laws an' change 'em *good*.

"I've worked fer you from morn till night, ter help you keep this farm up right. I've done the work outside an' in; I've worked like time and slaved like sin. We've earned a lot here, yet you see, not ary dime comes in fer me. That's Law fer you, but not fair play; an' here I've struck fer higher pay. The Worm hez turned—she turned to-day. I've been a slave, five years gone by; but from now on, Hi Tinkum, I am goin' to be your helpmeet and your other half—your good right hand. I want my share divided true—one-half fer me an' half fer you.

"It's jest plain this: I've had a stroke of common sense, an' now I've spoke. I've been a poor, weak-minded dolt; but now—*I'm goin' ter drive the colt!* (I've tried him when you wasn't here—he's like a lamb.) So now you know things won't be movin' quite so slow!"

I couldn't speak fer my surprise. I looked at her with bulgin' eyes. Then somethin' bu'st, an' I felt queer. I seemed ter see her right an' clear. She looked so pritty an' so fine, I was so proud ter call her mine; she was so sassy an' so peart, I van, she almost had me skeert. At last I gasped:

"Good lan'! Meliss; I never thought you felt like this. I never thought none 'bout the Law—Maw allus hustled 'round fer Paw, and Gram fer Gramp—jest night an' day. I thought 'twas natchelly the way. But somehow, Girl—it's cur'us, though—I like you—bully—this-a-way! An' likewise I begin to see you've got some rights as well as me.

"Hev it your way—one thing I know—*you're wuth more than the hull blame show!*"

GERTRUDE ATHERTON ON THE ENGLISH MILITANT MOVEMENT

By Edna Kenton

GERTRUDE ATHERTON'S latest book, "Julia France and her Times"—the very title reads as if it might become the permanent history of the world-wide woman's movement—takes up suffrage and the militant side of it with no wavering of the pen, and with all the mental clearness that distinguishes one of the most intellectual writers of the present day. Mrs. Atherton has not depended on rumors or headlines or second-hand interpretations for Julia France's characterization and motives. She has gone personally into the English movement; "not," she freely admits, "because I personally need or care for the vote. I don't—I happen to be one of the women who have somehow taken from the world what I want, and I intend to get out of it what I want as long as I live. But there is something on fire in the world that has smouldered for hundreds of years, and it's all ablaze in England today."

"I came over here to America," she added, "and discovered this: that the movement over here, compared to that white heat of battle in England, amounts to nothing at all. American women haven't the nerve developed yet to put up such a fight; on the other hand, there aren't the conditions here to develop it. American men are cleverer than Englishmen. Englishmen are heavy and primæval and stubborn; American men coddle their women into thinking they have their own way and then do as they (the men) please. That is the secret of the general apathy to the question over here. American women have their privileges which they cherish tenderly and are too lazy to think about their rights. But over there——

"Do you know this, when your papers and your suffrage speakers condemn those militants, that England is breeding a new race of women today, unlike anything the world has known, women utterly devoted to the cause of getting women the rights that have been taken away from them. Who condemns the men who fought for England's greatest bill of rights? It was a great battle, wasn't it, for human freedom. Well, these women are fighting just as intensely, just as unreservedly for their rights as ever any group of rioting, fighting, death-dealing Englishmen fought for and got theirs, only in that way. Why, that group of women will do anything but surrender, and if the grant of their rights does not come soon and in peace, the country undoubtedly will have bullets and blood. The women will never, never give up. I know personally women who are consecrated to death for the cause if death is awaiting them, and American women who condemn that devoted group of women are condemning something they know nothing about—the conditions over here are so immensely different they will probably never need to know personally the trend of life that has bred up this new race."

When "Hysteria" was suggested as a pathological and favorite American explanation of militancy, Mrs. Atherton's eyes flamed.

"Is it hysteria when there hasn't been a stone thrown over there whose aim hasn't been planned days before? Is it hysteria when the public has been warned in their meetings of every new move? Don't think anything has been left to chance; Mrs. Pankhurst is a statesman and knows the folly of chance. They have not sneaked; they have not attacked without warning; they fight in the open. But even now the Pankhursts are crying out the bitter end of things if the end in peace does not come soon. Why will American women condemn what they know nothing about?"

Another version of the old cry of the rationalist that condemnation always means lack of knowledge.

In "Julia France and her Times" at all events, the American woman who seeks, can find an intelligent interpretation of what Mrs. Atherton calls "the new race of women that England is breeding to-day."

THE old college favorite, "Who is Silvia, where is she?" is now being sung with the words "Who is Christabel, where is she?"

IN *The Confessions of an Alien*, published in *Harper's Bazaar* for April, Mrs. Inez Haynes Gillimore adds a new note to our many-sided discussion of feminism. This opening article, which by the way, is well worth reading regardless of your acceptance of the point of view, treats of "The Double Standard."

Mrs. Gillimore finds that the double standard is not limited to the difference in moral standards for the sexes. She writes brilliantly of our "double standard of experience—one for men, and one for women," and also of the "double standard of political right." Of this she says:

"Though you may question whether it is desirable for woman to enter the economic struggle, you cannot deny that she is there to stay. Any human being engaging without the ballot in that struggle is like a soldier entering battle without a gun."

SIDE-LIGHTS FROM LAWRENCE

By

Sara Rush Parks.

THE Lawrence strike, with its suffering, its heroism, its victory, is fraught with messages of inspiration and admonition to all who are engaged in the forward movements of the time, messages too plentiful to be enumerated. To trade-unionists it brought home again, with strong emphasis, the comparative futility of labor legislation, unsupported by organization. For the reduction in wages which followed the passage of a law limiting hours of labor, is but another instance of the effort of employers dealing with unorganized labor to ignore or evade the plain intent of a law passed for the benefit of the workers.

As suffragists we may word this statement a little differently. We may say that the events which precipitated the Lawrence strike form but another illustration of the inadvisability of letting one class, or one sex, legislate for another. It matters not how good the intentions of such legislators. That which is to greatly benefit people must be done largely by themselves. In so far as it applies to Lawrence, the Fifty-four Hour Bill was legislation from within, not from without. Organized labor throughout the State, had, it is true, supported the bill. But in the Lawrence mills there was practically no organized labor. The textile workers of Lawrence were to all intents and purposes as unrepresented in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts as if they had all been American women, for large numbers of the male workers, being unnaturalized, had no vote, while others had not yet learned to make their vote bear effectively upon labor conditions. Had they been organized strongly enough to demand a fifty-four hour law, no attempt would have been made to defraud them of the benefit of the law.

Where unions exist, employers may raise prices and compel the public to bear the burden of shorter hours or improved sanitary conditions, forced upon them by law, without attempting to make their employees pay for these things by cutting wages. Where unions do not exist, workmen are industrially, and usually politically, too, in actual practic, unrepresented. And it was only because the Lawrence textile workers had latent within themselves what American women do not possess politically, the acknowledged right to representation, that they were able to rise to the emergency which confronted them, and to wrest from defeat one of the most dramatic victories in the history of the labor movement in this country.

Another truism incidentally emphasized by the Lawrence strike is that it is inadvisable to influence conditions concerning which one is not intelligent. The amount of unintelligent influence constantly exerted was forcefully impressed upon every one, who sat day after day in the House Annex and watched the members of the Congressional Committee during the Hearings on the strike.

The textile workers who appeared before the Committee were typical strikers. Three stand out with special vividness in my memory, one, a Russian Jew of about thirty, dark-skinned, of poetic beauty, breathing all the ideals of that aspiring race. His simple story has been referred to widely. Coming to this country years ago, full of faith in America and of brilliant hopes, he immediately took out his first papers for citizenship. Since then he has studied in night-school; he has striven in every way to make himself a good American citizen; but he has never been able to find a time when the hunger of his wife and children could spare the four dollars necessary to the completion of his naturalization. His pathetic answer, when questioned as to why he would allow immigration to continue and have others come to this country to be "imposed upon as you have been," still rings in my ears:

"Ah, well, if you are imposed upon, you know you cannot help it. But America is the land where all the world has hope. I would let them come."

Another was a jolly, happy-go-lucky, merry-faced Italian boy, whose buoyant spirit and ready good-humor had not been crushed even by the drudgery and privation of the life of a Lawrence mill-worker. The third was an exceedingly attractive and pretty young woman. And even in Washington, four hundred and fifty miles from the strike headquarters, we could feel something of the wonderful spirit which bound such different personalities together in one unalterable purpose and fellowship so that there were "no Italians, no Poles, no Jews—but all one."

It was almost as interesting, however, to watch the Congressional Committee as to watch the strikers, though somewhat less inspiring. Prominent, prosperous, well-meaning, educated men they might be—on one vital, world-wide problem they were unintelligent. Facts were brought out by the investigation: that to Lawrence children, bread and molasses was a treat; that the ordinary mill-working family in Lawrence could afford meat but once a week; that the workers paid for

the water they drank in the mills; that these people, working in woolen mills, could not for the most part afford woolen clothing in winter; that the children wore no underclothing. And these facts were as startling to that Committee as if they had come from another planet. The idea that such a condition could exist in America was plainly a revelation; they could scarcely be forced to believe it. Especially difficult of belief seemed the fact, testified to by witness after witness, that women, and even children under nine years of age, had been beaten and knocked down by policemen and soldiers for no more serious offence than an attempt to put the children onto a train bound for Philadelphia, where they were to be cared for until the end of the strike. Indeed, that an American policeman could ever strike anybody who was keeping the law, that the militia could be partial and treat strikers unfairly, seemed a totally novel conception to the Congressional Committee.

"Do you mean to say that a policeman——?" they asked, doubtfully. "Now, that is a very serious charge that you are making against an American soldier——." You would have thought that the Shirt Waist Strike had never brought to the public a revelation of police brutality and unfairness, and that similar lawless oppression of peaceful pickets had not gone on for years in connection with strike after strike in this country.

Amusingly perplexed, too, was the manner of the Committee when confronted by the unheard-of proposition that a striker might be a young and charming woman. They might have been anti-suffragists, suddenly, unexpectedly, and for the first time confronted by a womanly suffragist. There she stood before them, pretty and modest. They did not know what to make of her.

"You have lived in this town," one of them questioned. "You have been in the homes of these people. Now, is it really true that——?"

"I *am* one of 'these people,'" she remarked quietly before going on to answer the question.

Many things had penetrated into the minds of the Committee before the Hearing ended. By the time the mill-owners and their satellites appeared to testify to the enviability of the lives of the workers and the utter madness and unreason, not to say ingratitude, of their going on strike, the Congressmen were in no mood to be trifled with. Their comments were pleasing to hear.

"Yes, yes," testily remarked one, "no doubt the drinking water the mill-owners furnished free was perfectly good, not as the people testify, so warm that it could not be drunken. Probably the people insisted on buying their drinking water because they were obstinate and wanted to go to that extra expense."

"I see," commented another, "these people really abound in luxuries. And so far as I can make out the two chief luxuries are molasses and water."

Again: "You say Lawrence is a very prosperous town, and yet you admit that all the women have to work in the mills. Now, do you consider it a very prosperous condition where the women, as well as the men, must go out to work in order to support the family?"

"Well," responded the witness, with a stately judiciousness, "I should answer that question both yes and no."

"So should I," came the quick retort, "yes for the mill-owners, and no for the people!"

Certainly by the end of the Hearing, the Congressmen on that Committee had learned the A. B. C. of labor conditions in one American community at least. But one could not help remembering that most of them had been legislating on the tariff and on trust and labor questions for years previous to the Lawrence strike.

It may seem a far cry from Congressmen, blindly influencing conditions they do not understand, to the ordinary simple suffragist in a busy home. And yet, more and more strongly is the fact borne in upon us all to-day that, in this complex and highly organized civilization of ours, we cannot fail to influence conditions of all sorts. The only way to save ourselves from influencing them unintelligently is to be intelligent. We, too, as consumers, influence labor conditions. Perhaps the consumer's influence is fully as powerful as the legislator's. We cannot say that we will refuse to interest ourselves in these problems until after we get the suffrage, that for the present we will be neutral. We cannot be neutral. Every time we make a purchase, from the simplest article to the most expensive, we are supporting either the employer who ruthlessly grinds down his employees or the man who gives more decent conditions. Often it is impossible to know which we are doing, to distinguish between the fair and the unfair manufacturer. But whenever the union label can be obtained, it is a guarantee that the goods have been made under the best conditions existing in that trade. Women in New York are singularly fortunate in their opportunity to make use of their power as consumers. A sufficient number among them have valued this power highly enough to form organizations through which it can be utilized. The Label Shop, at 4 West 28th Street, offers a large variety of union labelled clothing for women. Union-made goods in many lines can be easily obtained in this city.*

When we march in procession on May 4th, and when we make our daily purchases, let us

(*Continued on page 25*)

DONNA QUIXOTE AND A SUFFRAGE WINDMILL

BY

MIRIAM ALLEN DE FORD.

IT was the first time that she had attempted to take a house-to-house canvass in the cause of Votes for Women, and she was more than a trifle nervous. Tightly grasping her pencil and her little pile of yellow slips for signing, she walked tremblingly up the steps of the first house in the block, and rang the bell.

"Don't want anything to-day," some one snapped at her, and the door was closed in her face.

Putting the slips in her coat pocket, she rang the bell again. "Whatever you do, see the mistress of the house," had been her instructions.

"I am one of your neighbors," she began, painstakingly, "and all I want is a little information. Are you in favor of woman suffrage?"

The door opened a trifle wider. "Come in," said a grudging voice.

The woman before her was tall and gaunt, and anything but prepossessing in appearance. The canvasser swallowed her fright, and started her argument. Here, evidently, was an "anti" strong and grim, and difficult of taming.

"You obey the laws," she said, "but have you anything to say about their making, or about the kind of men who shall make them for you? You pay taxes, for even if you don't own property, part of every can of tomatoes you buy, the postage stamps you put on your letters, everything of the sort, goes to the Goverment as indirect taxation; but do you know how your money is spent, or wasted? Don't you consider it true that 'governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed?' That is the principle this nation was founded on, and yet we women, who are governed, are asked to give neither our consent nor our refusal to any measure of government. We are human beings, we love and work for our country, and yet we are not and never have been citizens in any full sense of the word!"

As the speaker paused to take breath, her hostess opened her mouth to speak, but the young canvasser interrupted her first word.

"I know what you're going to say," she announced, "that we should use our influence on our husbands and brothers; but why do anything so indirect when the direct method might be ours? When you want to buy a hat you go in and buy it, don't you?—you don't wait outside and ask some one else to get it for you. Besides, what kind of man would let a woman influence his vote, and what kind of influence would that woman have to use? Moreover, no woman is represented by a man in this country: a man does not get an extra vote because he is married or has a sister living with him."

Once more the mistress of the house attempted to speak; once more she was interrupted.

"You are going to tell me that woman's place is in the home; perhaps you have a protected, well-cared for life of domesticity. But think of the hundreds of thousands of girls and women working at too long hours, in dangerous occupations, at women's wages for men's work, because there is a vote behind a man's salary and not behind a woman's. You cannot force these women back to the home; they have no homes to go to; their work has been taken out to the mills and factories. And how much of your time, after all, will voting take from your home duties?"

For a third time the hard-featured mistress opened her mouth; once more she closed it under the flow of her visitor's oratory. Surely no "anti" could withstand arguments so persuasive!

"Not even men any longer say that women have not brains enough to vote, or that voting will unsex them. The suffrage has been a success in every State and country that has it. Name me a single objection to the enfranchisement of women that I cannot answer and confute!"

And then at last the other had her say. Meekly, as becomes one overwhelmed with oratory, she said:

"I've been trying to tell you ever since you came in that I'm a life member of the State Suffrage Society. Bless your heart, child, I was born a suffragist!"

"DR. WILEY is a staunch equal suffragist," says the Springfield *Republican*. "If women had the ballot he would have a very good chance indeed of being elected President. The ultimate consumer cuts a large figure at the polls." Women throughout the entire country will rejoice in the news that Dr. Wiley is to become Editor-in-Chief of *Good Housekeeping*. Thus he will be able to continue his valiant fight for pure food, despite the hostility of unscrupulous manufacturers and the indifference of the present Administration.

ON April 2nd, the Swedish Government introduced a bill into Parliament extending to women not only the parliamentary franchise, but the right to stand for election to Parliament on the same conditions as men.

THE TABLES TURNED

New York Congratulates China Upon Its Progressive Democracy.

ON April 10th, at the Pekin Restaurant, the Woman Suffrage Party met with a group of Chinese men and women to celebrate the enfranchisement of the women of China.

The Chairman, Mrs. James Lees Laidlaw, opened the meeting with a congratulatory speech. "We have looked to China with a desire to help our Chinese sisters," she said,"and now they have outstripped us. Chinese men have realized that there is no true democracy without the women. The national Parliament at Nankin has granted equal suffrage, Yik Yuan Ying, the Mrs. Pankhurst of China, has been elected a member of Parliament, the Provincial Assembly of Canton has ten women representatives. American born Chinese women have actually voted in California. There are in China forty women's newspapers and magazines, edited by women, chief among them *The Woman's Journal* of Canton.

The immediate result of women's new status is a decree issued by Tsei Yuan Pei, Minister of Education, that free education will now be provided throughout China for girls as well as boys up to ten years, and that all the advantages of education now enjoyed by men will now be extended to women. A Woman's Congress has hailed Sun Yat Sen as the liberator of Chinese women.''

Mrs. Laidlaw read letters of congratulation from: Reverend James B. Curry, Reverend John Haynes Holmes, Reverend J. Herman Randall, Mr. Clarence Perry and Doctor Stephen Wise.

Dr. George Kirchway spoke sympathetically of the Chinese. He said: "The phrase, 'different as the East is from the West,' is a lie. The East and West are not different; in fundamental qualities they are the same. Race prejudice is the greatest barrier that separates mankind from mankind and from womankind. The superiority of race or sex is an illusion. Men need woman suffrage more than women need it. But I crave it for the race; not for men and women, but for the sake of our common humanity."

Mrs. Yip Typond made an appeal for educational opportunities for Chinese women, after which a resolution was passed asking the Board of Education to establish a public school in Chinatown. Mrs. William Grant Brown, president of the City Federation of Women's Clubs, then emphasized the fact that conditions in Chinatown reflect, not against the Chinese, but against ourselves. Americans, not the Chinese, create the present degrading conditions in that quarter of our city.

Clothed in picturesque Chinese garb, and speaking perfect English, Miss Mabel Lee described the courage of Chinese women in battle, and proved it by her utter imperturbability as two flash-light photographers banged at her without disturbing her poise.

The girls of the Chang Yu School in Shanghai have written to the leader of the republican forces offering their help as soldiers. The letter reads: "Heaven has given women the same rights as men."

Miss Lee concluded her speech with the following accusation: "All women are recognized in New York, excepting Chinese women. She is not included in your educational institutions. Your social and recreational centers do not include her. How can she learn! How can you have half of your people in utter darkness, and the other half in light!"

Dr. Lee, a Chinese gentleman, the father of the charming Miss Mable, told the audience that he came to America to give his daughter an American education. He praised our institutions and said he hoped the Chinese women would come here to learn our institutions and adopt Christianity. Dr. Lee looked his surprise when Reverend Anna Howard Shaw arose to answer his remarks.

With the smile and sense of humor by which she always wins an audience, using the sudden inspiration by which she often builds a speech upon somebody's chance remark, Miss Shaw replied in answer to Dr. Lee's hope that the Chinese women would come here.

"I hope they won't. I hope they will accept what we haven't got. I hope they will bring to us the things we lack. I hope they will show us Christianity in its pure essence, the Christianity which makes a man's word as good as his bond." Miss Shaw then quoted the example of Chinese business men whose honor is accepted without written contract.

Dr. Lee had expressed a hope that the Chinese people would learn to read American newspapers that they might learn what to do and how to do it. Miss Shaw replied:

"In order to know what to do and how to do it, many people have had to give up reading the newspapers. It is not necessary to read the newspapers to know that you suffer, that you want improved conditions, that you want clean streets, that you want hope in your heart and love in your soul. Genuine Christianity as taught by the founder is an ideal to which no group can aspire unless it stands side by side with all other groups."

Marie Jenney Howe.

WOMEN AND THE NIGHT COURT

A SHORT time ago, one of New York's prominent anti-suffragists led a delegation of sixty men and women to the Night Court to study social conditions. If the *Times* has correctly reported the leader, she is credited with the following answer to the question of having women as judges:

"I don't know exactly what a woman sitting as Judge in the case of another woman would do, but I am sure she would not do the right thing, because I do not believe one woman is qualified to judge another."

This would be a magnificent and convincing anti-suffrage argument if it were to any degree representative of the spirit of modern women. The number of vigorous protests, however, which followed the remarks quoted, prove that the speaker was merely expressing her own somewhat limited conception of womanhood.

There is, however, a certain grim consistency in the idea of relegating the courts, and particularly the night courts, to men. Of all our social institutions, this is the one for which men are peculiarly responsible. The women who are dragged into its portals are really the smallest factor in the long line of those who make the Night Court necessary.

To begin with, there are the captains of industry and commerce who refuse to pay a living wage to working women. In *The Unfinished Story*, O. Henry pays his respects to this group.

"As I said before," he writes, "I dreamed that I was standing near a crowd of prosperous-looking angels, and a policeman took me by the wing and asked if I belonged to them.

"Who are they?" I asked.

"Why," said he, "they are the men who hired working girls and paid 'em five or six dollars a week to live on. Are you one of the bunch?"

"Not on your immortality," said I. "I'm only the fellow that set fire to an orphan asylum, and murdered a blind man for his pennies."

Next in the procession of men who are responsible for the Night Court come those who thrive upon vice, owners of disorderly houses, saloon keepers, cadets and an army of those who make money by the degradation of women. The Report of the Chicago Vice Commission contains a paragraph "To Men." And this is what it says of the social situation which is back of the Night Court:

"It is a man and not a woman problem which we face to-day—commercialized by man—supported by man—the supply of fresh victims furnished by men—men who have lost that fine instinct for chivalry and that splendid honor of womanhood where the destruction of a woman's soul is abhorrent, and where the defense of woman's purity is truly the occasion for a valiant fight."

For every woman who appears in the Night Court, some man is responsible. Prostitution is not a solitary vice. We hear a great deal about "white slaves" and women of the streets; what of the men who made them what they are? They are not seen in the Night Court, pleading before the Judge. The men who appear there are hired detectives and policemen, men paid to bring women before the law.

So, it would be hard, as the anti-suffragist suggests, to tell just what women would do if they had a voice in the Night Court. It seems to be peculiarly men's sphere. But we cannot help wondering, since men have allowed these things to go on, year after year, what would be the effect on the Night Court, the detectives, the Judges and the victims of our social indifference and greed if women were to take their responsibility in solving the problem. Could we depend upon such women as Jane Addams, Maude Miner, Florence Kelley, Mary Drier and Lavinia Dock to do the "right thing"?

THE NEW HOME OF THE WOMAN SUFFRAGE PARTY.

In a great organization like the Woman Suffrage Party where different tastes and interests are to be considered, and where the donations from so many of our generous friends are to be expended, the question of the greatest economy and efficiency in deciding upon and conducting the central headquarters is one that requires the most earnest and careful consideration.

Such consideration has been given to the question of our moving. Our old headquarters' home in the Metropolitan Tower has become endeared to us by many associations in the last three years, during which time we realize in looking over our letter files and our massive printing material what a tremendous volume of work has been turned out. Much of this activity directed and inspired by our leader, Mrs. Catt, has borne fruit a hundred fold. We felt very sad at leaving this first scene of our activity, but it has been impossible to get any more space in the tower that would be satisfactory to us, and our work has grown so tremendously that these four rooms in which we used to be able to work most comfortably and peacefully are absolutely so

bursting with activity that every one of the four corners of each little room has become an office in itself with a condition of congestion which causes our work to be conducted under a very great pressure. We simply have had to have room. Literally scores and scores of places have been looked at. Houses, office buildings, every sort and kind of habitation that we thought in any wise could be moulded to our purposes.

Finally, after due consideration, not having found any place that was ideal in every respect, we decided that the floor that we have taken in the old mansion at the Southwest corner of 34th Street and Madison Avenue (entrance at 30 East 34th Street), on the whole offered us exceptional opportunities. In the first place, we have windows on three sides. We may hang great banners out on the Madison Avenue side, on the 34th Street side and on the end of the house in a window which looks westward the whole length of 34th Street. We will have seven rooms, where we have four now. One of those rooms is a large, dignified one which affords a place for meeting and gives an air of hospitality to our headquarters which our little entrance telephone room in the tower never afforded. This room we hope to fit up in the most homelike and artistic way possible. The other rooms will be businesslike office rooms as before.

Any donations for furniture that any one feels moved to send us will be expended to the best possible advantage.

We want you to feel that this is your suffrage home, clubroom and meeting-place.

Another good feature is that the entrance from the street, where our sign will appear and catch the eye of the passer-by, leads up a very broad, beautiful, old-fashioned carved wood staircase.

Mrs. Himes-Cox has her art studio in this building and she will make the stairway and entrance a thing of great beauty. Some of our suffrage workers know this earnest suffragist, for it was at her studio on 33rd Street that the 27th Assembly District had temporary headquarters this Winter.

It will be a woman's building and we will all be suffragists. Surely that is a great attraction in itself. Not all householders would be willing to have the building decorated with all the flags and insignia that will catch the eye of the passers-by, from this new Woman Suffrage Party Headquarters. At the street entrance there will be a door-keeper and also we will have there a table with our suffrage literature and our meeting notices upon it.

I think you can all easily see that we undoubtedly are making a move for the better.

Also we must think of getting as nearly as possible to the center of the greater city as we have Queens, Brooklyn, Bronx and Staten Island to consider, where we will be excessible from all subway, elevated and surface lines.

After the parade is over we extend you cordial welcome to come up and sit down for quiet hours in some of our big, comfortable chairs! Of course, we will be the same old Woman Suffrage Party, and while this sounds very restful and idle, we do not mean to hold out any false impressions of ease, for if you stay long you will very likely be set to work. But we have never found that our members are afraid of any such prospect as that!

Welcome, and thrice welcome to the Woman Suffrage Party, 30 East 34th Street!!!

CALENDAR FOR MAY.

There are many meetings tentatively arranged for May but every one has been so busy perfecting plans for the parade that detailed notices have not been sent to the office. For complete announcements see bulletin board at the new headquarters.

May 1.—Open air meeting at 17th Street and Rutherford Place, at 5.30. Speakers, Cornelia Swinnerton and Elizabeth Freeman.

May 2.—Bushwick Library, DeKalb and Bushwick Avenues. 8.30 P. M. Speaker, Elizabeth Freeman.
18th A. D. meets at the Republican Club. (Complete announcements later.)
Hotel Astor, New York Equal Suffrage League will give a reception to the Men's League for Woman Suffrage. Speakers, Mr. and Mrs. Frederic Nathan; Mr. and Mrs. James L. Laidlaw; Mr. Winter Russell; Justice Charles L. Guy; Miss Mary Hay, presiding.

May 4.—Woman Suffrage Parade. 5 P. M. Party division meets at 17th Street and Union Square.

May 6.—Captain's meeting of the 25th A. D. Mrs. J. D. Livingston, 28 Seventh Avenue, 8 P. M.

May 6.—Captain's meeting, 19th A. D., at house of leader, Miss Marion T. Burritt, 540 West 122d Street, at 3 o'clock.

May 23.—Meeting for the Borough of Manhattan at the new Woman Suffrage Party Headquarters, southwest corner of 34th Street and Madison Avenue.

May 6, 13, 20 and 27.—Wage-earners *every* Monday evening, at Headquarters.

May 7, 14, 21, 28.—15th A. D., every Tuesday evening at the 15th Assembly District Headquarters, 120 West 81st Street.
1st A. D., Richmond Hill House, Monday evenings.

THE June WOMAN VOTER will contain the answers to Ida Tarbell, made April 15th, at the Metropolitan Temple. Miss Tarbell was present and must have appreciated the able replies of Beatrice Forbes-Robertson Hale, Charlotte Perkins Gilman, Reverend Anna Howard Shaw and Rheta Childe Dorr. The audience, it is reported, "roared with laughter" most of the evening.

PORTIA POLITICS—VI.

By

Edith Bailey.

Illustrated by May Wilson Preston.

PORTIA AT THE FAIR

'TWAS in a morning bright in June, a cloudless Summer day,
And Portia, with her girls and boys, was raking in the hay,
When from the house came Bridget upon a breathless run—
"Madam," she cried, "long distance, you're wanted on the 'phun."

"What, Mrs. Tabitha Van Cott, to speak at the State Fair,
To crowds of farmers and their wives, ah me, I'd never dare!
'Make holiday of duty, and take the children, too,'
And Nellie Poor as 'barker,' what does a 'barker' do?"

Portia chose out her two twin sons to squire her to the Fair,
But Nellie left her triplets home within her mother's care.
The motor was bedeckt with yellow ribbons bright and gay,
While Nellie "barked" through megaphone to "all, please, step this way."

"My friends," quoth Portia, "here you see some women far from home
Believe me, it is not because those women love to roam,
But home, we think, is not four walls, but all our country wide,
My children are not only those here standing by my side.

"'Neath labor's Juggernaut young lives are crushed beyond repair;
My motherhood must feel their wrongs, those children are my care;
When fatherhood was scarce a name, the woman's sheltering arms
Guarded her darlings from the wolves, and from all threatening harms.

"Give women voice in laws that guard the children of the State
We know what burdens they can bear, what prudence they dictate.
On children hang our destiny, our nation's future weal—
Let mothers sit in the Child's Court to judge their mute appeal.

"As God beheld the world was good, he gave it to a pair,
A man and woman, and he meant that both alike should share;
But times were evil, woman weak, she narrowed to a 'sphere,'
As in a trap a mouse is caught to squeak out his despair.

"Open the mouse-trap, Modern Man, and do not be afraid
To let God set the boundless sphere for creature that he made,
And Women, lift your eyes, and see—the more you do, the more
Is ever at your hand to do. Ask for the open door.

"Mahomet shut the door, ordained woman should be a slave,
Forbid to see, forbid to hear, forbid her soul to save;
No man, he said, in woman's word or deed can put his trust,
So woman shamed, pulled down with her a nation in the dust.

"America, we call the free, and, place upon her shores
Fair Liberty in woman's form, her torch towards Heaven soars,
To slavish starving nations, lo, she sends her ringing call,
Saying, 'From out my bounteous stores I have enough for all.'

"But to deserve her favors free, woman must do *her* share
In home and in the factory, in shop, and everywhere
For public good, for private weal, Woman aloud must speak,
Woman must stand for woman, the weak protect the weak.

"The common air we breathe, our homes, our joys, our hopes, our ills,
Give us the right to say our say, as free-born woman wills.
We earn our bread at home, abroad, give to us then our wage,
Fairness for fealty, O Man! 'Tis love that casts the gage.

"Yes, love, the link God welded firm when in His wisdom great
He moulded man and woman to share the self same fate.
Go forth with love to labor, upon a nobler plan
Helpmeets for wider service, to woman and to man."

THE END.

THE CHICAGO PRIMARY.

Dictated for Mrs. Catherine Waugh McCulloch by Miss Marion Drake, as a clear Statement of the Recent Balloting in Chicago on Suffrage.

ON March 13, 1912, Judge Owens, County Judge, entered an order granting a vote on woman suffrage at the presidential preference primary, April 9th.

A central committee of women from various suffrage organizations held a meeting and decided to send notices to the judges and clerks of election in each precinct in every ward in Chicago. The County Clerk refused to permit the rest of Cook County to participate in this vote, so it was confined to Chicago.

The next move was to send notices to the registered voters in Chicago, so far as possible. This work was done by the aid of a ward chairman who selected her precinct workers and each precinct worker or group of workers mailed an envelope containing a campaign suffrage leaflet or distributed these leaflets in some other manner to the registered voters.

There were weekly meetings of the central committee.

The next question to be taken up was the watching by women in the polling places. Permission was obtained and permits were issued from the County Court, signed by Judge Owens.

Then Judge Owens decided that an elector need not declare his party affiliations in order to vote for woman suffrage.

Meanwhile addresses were made to the various political meetings by speakers who went in to the meetings and stated they had come to talk about woman suffrage. This permission was rarely refused after the women took this stand. Before they did this, and when they requested permission there were many ifs and ands.

By Judge Owens' order the women were compelled to pay for the printing of the ballots, the tally sheets, return envelopes and instructions to judges and clerks of precincts.

It was also discovered there were not enough ballot boxes.

The Roosevelt campaign manager, Col. Dewey, had bought enough ballot boxes to make up the deficit before the State Legislature passed the State primary law, so he turned these over to the women.

The election commissioners afforded us every courtesy.

The vote was 71,354 yes, and 135,410 against.

The smallest number of votes was in the precincts where there were no women watchers.

There were 1,329 precincts in the city and more than half had women watchers, also at some places women stood outside and handed out a sample ballot.

There will be a meeting at Peoria and at Springfield; 100 women going to ask the State committeemen to put a woman suffrage plank in the Democratic and Republican platforms of the State of Illinois, April 17th and 19th.

The central committee held a large and enthusiastic meeting to-day (April 12) at the Auditorium Hotel, where reports from ward chairman and precincts committeemen were received and plans were set afoot for a ward and precinct organization in Chicago and a township organization in the balance of Cook County.

This meeting resulted in the organization of the Cook County Suffrage Federation, with Miss Marion Drake as temporary chairman and Mrs. John Bass as temporary secretary, with a meeting for permanent organization called for April 27.

ALL THE "ANTIS" ANSWERED

Continued

At the Metropolitan Temple on March 11th, twenty-five well known speakers answered twenty-five objections to Woman Suffrage. The meeting was organized and conducted by Mrs. Marie Jenney Howe, leader of the Twenty-first Assembly District. In the April VOTER we began to print the series, and we herewith give four more of the replys made by men. We hope to offer the answers of the women speakers in later issues of this magazine.

"THERE ARE TOO MANY VOTERS ALREADY."

BY

GILBERT E. ROE.

"THERE are too many voters already." Are there? If there are, I am in favor of letting the women do all the voting for a while —they could not make any worse job of it than we men have, and they might make a better one.

Whoever makes the argument that there are too many voters already may claim for his argument great antiquity, but he certainly will not claim any novelty. I remember in my reading to have run across an English statute passed in 1420 which started out by saying "THAT, Whereas there are too many voters, worthless fellows without property, voting for members of Parliament, therefore, be it resolved," etc., that the number of voters be cut down. But even that was not the origin of the proposition that "there are too many voters already." Why, the first cave man that came to rule over his family or his clan with a club was of the opinion that there were at least just voters enough when any one else tried to get a voice in the government, and every despot has made that argument, whenever the people sought any part in the government. The ruling class has everywhere made that argument, and it has been false as death every time it has been made. There never was a country in the world that suffered because it had too many voters. Every government that ever failed did so because it did not give to the people sufficient representation in government. And I want to say to you women—because I can't tell when this bell is going to ring, and I am in mortal terror of it, and I know you will be very glad to hear it—but I want to say to you women that you must regard the opposition to your enfranchisement as a great compliment—and I will tell you why, if I have the time. If you were just some foreigners that had come over here a little while ago, and the bosses of the political parties knew that they could deliver your votes, or that they were for sale, don't you think they would all be competing with each other to enfranchise you and give you the right to vote—so that then they control the votes? It is just because the political machines of the country fear that they cannot deliver the woman vote that they are opposed to woman suffrage. And by the same sign, those of us who do not travel with either machine are in favor of it.

"IT WOULD MAKE WOMEN LESS ATTRACTIVE."

BY

HUTCHINS HAPGOOD.

FOR a human being to be thoroughly interesting, he or she must stand sensitively on the threshold of the future. All the faculties of the mind and temperament must take an attitude hospitable to social forms not yet fully developed.

When we meet a man or a woman whose nature seems tremulous with the future, we are strangely and pleasurably excited. He or she is the incarnation of the breaking of old bonds, not to destroy, but to deepen life.

The woman whose soul is dissatisfied because her imagination foreshadows another and better world interested enormously the imagination of Ibsen; she must interest the imagination of all poets and idealists. She must interest all men who love experience and who know that the deeper pleasure of life is bound up with the active forging of new forms.

The woman who wants the vote is far more interesting than the vote. It may be that the value of her securing the right to vote will be the realization of its relative hollowness. But that does not matter. Voting will mean experience and a widening of her activities. It will mean a social working together, with many men and many women. It will mean to some degree the realization of the social imagination that is now moving her.

Men know that the deeper intimacies among men are dependent in large measure on men working together. In the city it is an habitual experience that we can associate intimately only with people who are working with us. When women vote there will be another working bond between men and women. We will tend to be intimate with women in a new way.

How exciting that is, how pleasurable the thought! Suppose we can add the charms and appeal of sex to our daily work! The distribution of the sex interest until it colors and modifies all of our activities is a warm and pleasant thought. Historically and traditionally it is a commonplace that literature and art and refined and delicate sociability derive their quality through a suffusion of sex. Knowledge, not academic, of art and literature, perceptions of how they interpret and enhance life, makes a woman more interesting. So, too, it will be

the case with politics and sociological endeavor. Women will grow more interesting to men, too, as they grasp more life. Everybody who tries a thing for the first time is likely to be awkward. Some of our suffragettes are awkward. A man hopelessly and suddenly in love is awkward in the expression of it until he is able to connect it with his total life interests.

A woman first going out into unfamiliar fields may be a little awkward. But it is the condition of her becoming charming with a new and deeper charm; the condition on which an enriching of her nature is dependent. That deep charm is already felt by civilized men whose temperament demands a constantly increasing vitalization of life.

The suffragette movement means that women demand a larger home, a larger and more varied intercourse with the world. Experience makes men interesting. It makes women interesting. The woman who knows many men well, is, other things equal, more interesting than the woman who knows one man well. The suffragette will bring to her husband or lover the strong and exciting charm of her experience with the world, including her experience with other men.

The only woman capable of satisfying a civilized man is a civilized woman and she cannot be fully civilized except on the basis of as rich and full experience as possible, and the vote is one of the things which will tend to bring her that experience.

"WOMEN ARE ANGELS."

BY

GEORGE MIDDLETON.

TO acknowledge women are never angels would deprive me of a target. I must exaggerate in order to have something to hit. So, temporarily under the influence of my subject, I must admit all women are angels. Because they are all angels they should have the vote. Neither temperament nor opportunity have made me an authority on angels. Beside, I have never been curious. Yet, as all men know, there are many kinds of angels. In fact, an angel is as hard to define as to decline. In theatrical parlance, for example, an angel is the person who puts up the money for the "show." I've been told there are many women of this sort who put up the money for the home. Even a full-fledged self-sustaining "angel" may have parasites. Sometimes she is only a contributing editor, who helps increase the circulation. Since these women are usurping man's traditional privileges of support, why should they not have a chance at his obligations? The overwhelming task of placing once a year a ballot in the box should not be his burden alone. As a man I protest against the discrimination against my sex. We men cannot protect ourselves. When women are supporting us or our children, or contributing to the support of our home, they should have some say to the laws that govern us. It is a fundamental outrage that women should have no such expression in a vote. Men have achieved the ballot by Divine Right, but I say upon women the ballot should be thrust.

But there are other angels than these self-sustaining, these who contribute equally with men. There are the Dreams we seek—elusive angels who inspire us to better things. Here I am on more familiar ground. Yet what man dares repeat the vaporous nothings with which such "angels" have fed him? If *they* had the suffrage would we ever not acquire better citizenship each time we embraced them? Then, indeed, to love her would be a liberal education. In Dante's celebrated poem, *Angels I Have Met*, we find many others. They share men's sins, why not his vote? We are told we have the ballot because of the bullet. We know all men who vote, fight. But what lithograph for battle-fields without its hovering angel?

I mean nothing irreverent in speaking for final angels: the inhabitants of Heaven. For many years they were considered sexless. In the sixteenth century, fortunately, it was discovered they might be women. Ever since, they have been loaned to the earth to make men dream of Paradise. And to-day no man, even the strongest opponent to woman suffrage, will arrogate unto himself exclusive citizenship in Heaven. There are other places he feels he may meet his friends. This brings me to a further illogicality. Heaven is open to all who may enter: it is a place where there are no mistakes: it is the greatest dream for democracy ever dreamed yet: and—this is what puzzles me—how can there be a limited suffrage in a true democracy? It is impossible: even angels should have suffrage—if men achieve Heaven and have it also.

In conclusion, I wish to say, if my arguments have been absurd it is because this objection to woman suffrage is absurd. Individually women may be better than men: but as a class, women admit they are not. No woman has a monopoly on the virtues. No man has a monopoly on the vices. These are merely stray examples of over-capitalization. That which we call angelic is sexless: it lurks in both men and women. But like an emotion that dies if not turned into an action, it is a useless decoration if not a living force. It's time we dispose of protection for the good: I'm for free trade in the economic and political scheme. Equal opportunity before the law and in making the law. All women are not camphor-

(*Continued on page 24*)

The Woman Voter

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A VICTORIOUS DEFEAT.

THE Woman Suffrage Amendment was tabled by a political trick, after it had received a majority vote in the Assembly. No one in touch with the woman suffrage movement regards this as a defeat. On the contrary, it is a great victory. The Co-operating Committee, made up of the strongest suffrage organizations in the State, is now in a strategic position for future legislative work. To have forced the Woman Suffrage Amendment out of the Assembly Judiciary Committee where it has slumbered so long, is in itself an achievement. To have carried the measure in the Assembly by a vote of 76 to 67 is indicative of greater progress than friends of the movement dared hope. And, a record in black and white of the attitude of legislators on this subject is the best possible weapon for future use that suffragists could possibly have found. Formerly we knew our enemies and guessed at our friends. Now we are not in doubt as the political campaigns of 1912 will soon bear witness.

THE CHILDREN'S BUREAU.

FIVE years ago, Miss Lillian Wald, of the Henry Street Settlement, originated a national movement for the conservation of children by means of a Federal Children's Bureau. The idea did not seem unduly Quixotic in view of previous agitation for the conservation of land, lobsters, live stock and other resources less valuable to the country than its young. In spite of rebuffs and discouragements, Miss Wald, Mrs. Kelley and other prominent social workers persisted in their effort. In April of this year, the measure was successfully carried through Congress, and became effective when signed by President Taft.

The purpose of the bill is to investigate and report upon all matters pertaining to child welfare. Although the National Child Labor Committee has been one of the most active workers for the measure, it does not mean that the scope of the Bureau will be limited to child labor. Everything that affects child life will be considered and acted upon. The Bureau will embody the spirit of collective motherliness, standing for the interests of all children.

Since the movement was originated by women, has been supported by women and will deal with children through the co-operation of teachers, social workers and others, chiefly women, who are in touch with the younger generation, not even the most ardent anti-suffragist could deny that management of this Bureau is strictly within woman's sphere. News, therefore, that a woman will act as head of the new department, will be received joyfully by all suffragists.

Miss Julia Lathrop, President Taft's choice for the position, is remarkably well equipped to direct this, the most womanly piece of work that our national government has ever undertaken. She is an associate of Miss Jane Addams at Hull House, a member of the Illinois Board of Charity, a graduate of Vassar College and a trustee in that institution. She has had years of experience in social and civic enterprises. President Taft could not have appointed any one more acceptable to women throughout the country than is Miss Lathrop.

A CASE OF THE LARGER HOUSEKEEPING.

THOSE who question the relation of home and State, denying that government is really housekeeping on a large scale, had ample opportunity for observation on March 29th of this year. On the day of adjournment, when vigilance societies could presumably be caught napping, a bill which jeopardized the safety of 9,000,000 people, by lowering the standard of milk supply in this State, was rushed through the Legislature. The bill was obviously an effort of selfish business to thwart the health officials in their work of protecting the public. That the ultimate consumer was not completely under the legislative anæsthetic administered by greed was proven by the prompt and vigorous protest which followed the bill. Governor Dix vetoed the measure on April 2nd, with the message:

"The bill would be a long step backward in the fight for pure milk, and I think it must have been adopted in the Legislature under misapprehension."

The New York Sun suggests that the Housewife's League appoint a legislative watcher to protect the interests of the home. We suggest that all housewives be appointed watchers, with power to elect and recall legislators.

FORWARD MARCH!

STIRRING times are ahead! Next Fall will be the most exciting campaign season that suffragists in this country have ever known. The recent victory in Michigan came as a surprise to all who did not know of its wonderfully capable band of women and their quiet work. Campaigns are now on in Kansas, Oregon, Wisconsin, Ohio and Michigan. In those States a woman suffrage amendment is actually to come before the people next November. There is no doubt but that New Hampshire will soon be in line for delegates to the Constitutional Convention are now reporting two to one in favor of equal suffrage. Word has just come that a suffrage bill has passed the House in Arizona with a favorable prospect of winning in the Senate. Should the Legislature fail, the bill may be initiated and brought directly to voters in the Autumn. Nevada is already in line for the following year. On April 24th, the House of Representatives at Washington voted 81 to 25 in favor of equal franchise for Alaska. Truly, as Miss Anthony predicted, "Failure is impossible!"

WOMAN SUFFRAGE AT THE CHICAGO POLLS.

IT was voted down last week, two to one, but there is not a discouraged suffragist in Chicago to-day, judging from the letters that have come in from the workers there. Mrs. Catherine Waugh McCulloch, who, a lawyer with her lawyer husband, has worked for years in an apathetic state of things, writes jubilantly of the invigorating stir this chance to vote, even to vote adversely, has given the movement.

"From nearly all the counties in the State," she writes, "has come, since the election, the query: 'Why wasn't that ballot put before our county? We want a chance to vote for women here.' And Chicago itself has been stirred to an interest it has never shown before. But I am not nearly so jubilant over the favorable interest as I am over this speedy and decisive chance we have had to learn where our inherent weaknesses of organization lie. In no other way than this could we have learned so quickly; and watch us tighten up the weak spots. Already we have seen the absolute necessity of organization along political lines, and our new campaign organization was launched Saturday, 'The Cook County Suffrage Federation!' This is to be actually political in its making and its methods, and when our next referendum on this question is up to the voters we hope to show that our new campaign of education will have accomplished a reversal of this year's vote."

Miss Marion Drake, one of the most ardent workers, writes this as an instance of the by-products of her work:

"I gave up home life for the last week before the primaries, and stayed downtown at the Auditorium, working every hour on enrollments, etc. The morning before the primaries, the colored head waiter came up to me with a big grin on his face. 'Miss Drake,' he said, 'we like you suffrage ladies (we had been holding many of our meetings there) and if you want our vote, just say so.' 'We want every vote,' I said promptly. 'How many of you?' 'One hundred and fifty of us,' he replied. Well, I sent them all literature and thanked them personally, and I believe that they voted in one body for woman suffrage."

Mrs. Willis McCrea, president of the North Shore Civic League, writes this:

"We are immensely proud of the results. Of course, we expected to be snowed under, but the courtesy we received in every case has given courage to all our weaker members who fear rebuffs, and the vote on the North side was overwhelmingly large compared to our forecasting of what it would be. It was the first time. There must always be a first time. Now, if we can get together on the slower educational process that comes next, there will be no trouble. Almost any thinking man will give us the vote if he knows we seriously want it. Most of them think it is a temporary fad with us. When we have taken time to strengthen our weaknesses of organization, have acquired more workers and have appealed to the intelligence of most of our voters, we'll win. At any rate, I'm in this to stay till we do, and I've infinite patience."

Mrs. Neelan Reber writes: "As I went down on the I. C. suburban last Tuesday morning to watch the work at the downtown polling places, I saw one white-haired old oak of a woman distributing suffrage bills all through the train. But she was stopped by the conductors. So she pinned a yellow ribbon across her breast and walked up and down the aisles, talking the bills she couldn't hand out. All this is newer to Chicago than a New Yorker can well imagine. Suffrage films have been taken, and have been located already in about two dozen moving picture houses, which feature them as good drawing attractions. Curiously enough, the reports from the foreign districts show that the Italians strongly favor suffrage. But the German vote is solid against it. Word has gone out that women intend to deprive men of their beer, and there is a great deal of stolid Germanic resistance and beer in Chicago."

—E. K.

When women get the right to vote,
And help to run the nation,
There is no doubt this rally shout
Will win by acclamation

LIPTON'S TEA

Honest Tea Is The Best Policy

WORK WITH THE CONVENTIONS.

ONE of the essentials in our New York State suffrage campaign is that it shall be impressed upon the minds of all men in political life that members of the Woman Suffrage Party intend to pursue an undeviating course side by side with the men of the two dominating parties from whom their enfranchisement must come. Wherever they are meeting, wherever they are making resolutions, wherever they are holding a primary or a convention, we shall be there with the insistent and persistent demand that they express themselves in some way upon the suffrage question.

Undoubtedly many a legislator breathed a sigh of relief when our bill was laid upon the table. But their hopes and illusions about a much-needed rest for the suffrage question was quickly dispelled. The Legislature closed on the 29th of March and by the 30th, leaders, captains, organizers, city and borough officers were at work on the question of recommending suffrage planks to be incorporated in the national platforms of the Democratic and Republican parties.

As a result of conferences and interviews, one thousand leaflets were sent to the Republican Convention on April 9th, and fifteen hundred were distributed in the Democratic Convention in New York, April 11th. Mrs. Martha Suffren, representing the Party and Mrs. William Montgomery, of the State Association, obtained a hearing at the Republican Convention, in Rochester. They were received with every possible courtesy and when they left the Committee Room, were escorted by no less persons than Mr. Timothy Woodruff, Mr. Elihu Root and Mr. Wadsworth.

At the Democratic Convention in New York, the Lexington Opera House was circularized with leaflets, appeals and WOMAN VOTERS. The appeal, signed by the officers of the Woman Suffrage Party, was as follows:

New York, April 10, 1912.

Delegates of the Democratic State Convention, April 11, 1912, Greetings:

"The Woman Suffrage Party of Greater New York, organized in sixty-three Assembly Districts, numbering more than 50,000 men and women, hereby appeals to you most earnestly to use your influence as a delegate to the Democratic Convention to secure a recommendation from the State of New York advocating a plank in the national platform in favor of woman suffrage.

"In asking this measure of justice to women we call your attention to the fact that in six States women already have the full franchise and that in five other States the question goes to the voters for decision this Fall.

"In view of the worldwide growth of this movement and its inevitable success we ask you to realize that the great Democratic party can no longer remain silent on an issue of such magnitude and we urge you to realize the wisdom of the statesmanship which dictates national recognition of the question immediately."

Mrs. Penfield's Address Before the Democratic Convention:

"We realize how important a voice the men of New York have in the national councils, and we women of Democratic affiliations feel, therefore, that we must ask our men, who are so largely to shape a national policy, to consider the present political importance of woman suffrage.

A few years ago our opponents would have been justified perhaps in saying that the demand for equal suffrage was not yet great enough to make of it a political issue. Its world-wide growth during the last few years, however; its establishment in six of our States, and its keen agitation in every other State, make of it a question which can no longer be disregarded by the great political parties.

As an illustration of the growth of equal suffrage sentiment in New York, I simply sight the growth of my own organization alone—the Woman Suffrage Party. Within less than three years we have a membership in Greater New York alone of over 50,000 men and women—men and women organized by Assembly Districts with a very definite political power, which is increasing every moment.

We do not come before you to present arguments for woman suffrage. There is neither time nor disposition to waste these valuable moments in theoretical dissertation. Woman suffrage is no longer a theoretical proposition. Woman suffrage has arrived in the United States. In six States already women must be dealt with in the national electoral vote. It is possible that next year five other States—Ohio, Michigan, Wisconsin, Kansas and Oregon, where amendments go to the voters for decision this Fall, will fall into line on this great issue. The question which we therefore present to you is—can the great Democratic Party afford to

longer disregard the question of woman suffrage, and we ask you to realize the wisdom of the statesmanship which dictates national recognition of the question immediately. The Democratic Party had an unbroken record of national success from 1801 until 1860, but we must remember that since that year, except for two brief intervals, another party has been in the saddle. I do not need to point out to you that the power of the other party was largely due to their support of the extension of the franchise to the negro. Will the great Democratic Party allow that other party to again reap the benefits of another extension of the franchise? This is the political point at issue, and I have the honor to present to you the following planks suggested by the Woman Suffrage Party and the New York State Woman Suffrage Association. We ask that you report one of the two.

Plank 1. "In recognition of the fundamental principle that governments obtain their just powers from the consent of the governed," and in view of the fact that because of the accident of birth, nearly one-half of the citizens of the United States is denied voice in government. We stand for the submission of a national constitutional amendment to the Legislatures of States, which shall prohibit discrimination against any citizen of the United States because of sex, as the 15th amendment provided against discrimination against citizens because of "Race, color, or previous condition of servitude."

Plank 2. Inasmuch as we, members of the Democratic Party of New York State believe in a government of the *whole* people and since one-half of the citizens are in all but six of our States disfranchised on account of sex alone, we urge the National Democratic Convention to recommend to all the States the extension of suffrage to women."

At the ten-minute hearing which was granted first place in the business of the Convention, Mrs. Penfield, Mrs. Blatch and Miss Mills, representing the Woman Suffrage Party, the Political Union and the State Association, made excellent speeches. The Honorable James Sague, Mayor of Poughkeepsie, offered to introduce the suffrage resolution. The results have not been made public, but we understand, according to accounts given in some of the papers, that if not a tie, the vote on the question was very close. With the exception of the patient and unremitting work in the Assembly Districts during the Summer, keeping in touch with leaders and captains of the political parties, attending entertainments, picnics and outings, holding meetings indoors and out-of-doors, and until the National Conventions, in Chicago and Baltimore, keeping in touch with all the delegates possible, this is the last distinctively political work that we will be called upon to do in our routine until the primaries in September.

Men and women of the Woman Suffrage Party and suffragists of all organizations ought to feel inspired by a comparative success to the woman suffrage demand this year in New York State to pledge themselves to very strenuous effort for the next call for such activity shall come. Our women are learning more and more to rise to the occasion quickly and efficiently. More and more they are realizing eternal vigilance is the price of our liberties.

—H. B. L.

MRS. LIBBY MACDONALD writes that her lectures with the Woman Suffrage Party lantern slides were well received in Jacksonville, Fla. Mrs. Macdonald spoke to several enthusiastic audiences, and distributed Rainbow leaflets and "Votes for Women" buttons as souvenirs.

ALL THE ANTIS ANSWERED

Continued from page 19

ated females. Some don't need the moth balls of masculine solicitude. You never know what any woman may have up her sleeves till she takes her coat off; but no woman will be too good for the problems of her full citizenship. Therefore, if there is anything angelic lying around loose that we haven't made use of, we'd better nail it on the statute books, and nail it quick.

"MEN WOULD CEASE TO LOVE US."

BY

SWINBURNE HALE.

LADIES and gentlemen, you will all cease to love each other as soon as you all have the vote. The anti-suffragists have said it! It has been proclaimed in the pamphlets of the League for the Useless Education of Women; it has resounded from the platforms of the National Association Opposed to Further Progress. Even the Committee for the Perpetuation of the Eighteenth Century has endorsed this great fundamental truth. When women vote, men will cease to love them. From which it follows that men will cease to marry them, will cease to have children by them, and will suffer the white nations to decline into sterility and emptiness, so that the invading Mongolian hordes of the year 2000 will find only deserted continents where there had been prosperous peoples. Unless, of course, the Mongolian races, by way of confirming in democracy their newly promised republics, should enfranchise their women also, and themselves go down to oblivion in loveless, childless celibacy.

Ladies and gentlemen, think of the possibility! Is there any race suicide like to this? Is it not even beyond the fondest dreams of our National and college ex-presidents? Is it not a subject calling for the instant investigation of Congress?

How is California to be saved. By what amendment to the Federal Constitution, by what drastic legislation, shall we intervene to preserve the rapidly depleting populations of Washington and Colorado, of Wyoming and Idaho? What hope for Utah unless we encourage, reward her Mormonism? What stringent taxation of the celibate male, what emolument of the public-spirited, self-sacrificing Western father, shall we draft into law to preserve the hope of another generation? Must we look to the Men's League for Woman Suffrage to perpetuate the race? Or is the stork to become as extinct as the dodo?

Seriously, I am most perturbed at the prospect held out by the anti-suffragists. I am overwhelmed by the statistics which I have no doubt they have been able to gather from the Western suffrage States, from New Zealand and Norway and Australia, and from all the other devastated suffrage nations, to show the dreadful lovelessness that follows the change from androcracy to democracy. Must not every New Yorker who has been so clever as to be born male instead of female, thank God that the women of New York are still voteless and loveable, that they may still attract us to be their husbands, that here at least fatherhood is not yet abolished, although with equal suffrage so imminent, we may never hope to become grandfathers!

But is it possible that the anti-suffragists are wrong, and that even they have not been able to procure statistics to back up their assertion? Suppose on our part we were to confront them with the figures in New Zealand, for instance, where the increased birthrate and decreased infant mortality combine to show more babies growing into childhood per thousand of the population of a nation of freemen and freewomen than was the case when New Zealand was a nation of freemen and bondwomen. It is, of course, not a fact that men cease to love their women when they free them; the anti-suffragists are confounded by the verdict of precedent. Not only do freemen love the freewomen of their race, but they respect them and they admire them—infinitely more than ever a shackled angel was respected or admired. And just because of the respect and admiration of that equal friendship and equal opportunity there exists a reality of love which the shackled anti-suffragists never know. How should they know it? They have so concentrated themselves on the problem of creating in their men what they call love that they stand aghast at the emptiness of what they have created, and cry out for more anti-suffrage, more shackles, more angelic innocence and impotence. But the solution lies not that way. And why? Because we have reached the stage in the civilization of the world when a wide interest in the things of the world is demanded by men of women. And that wide interest necessitates among other things woman suffrage. Two centuries ago the men were satisfied with their women; they found them intelligent and strong and wise, and they loved them. For, in those days of little communication and home industry

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PATRONIZE OUR PATRONS, MENTION "THE WOMAN VOTER."

and home education, the women had very nearly an equal chance with the men to experience the width of life and to develop intelligence and strength and wisdom. But to-day with education in the schools and industry in the factories, on the one hand; and on the other hand with the wide communication of great cities, and railroads and newspapers, women are in the anomalous position of having most of their old life taken from them and being given little opportunity or incentive to indulge in the new life—in the enormous multiplication of daily contacts with all the world that make a man's life rich. In consequence the average woman has sunk in strength and wisdom and intelligence. More and more as she saw her life being emptied and both work and the need for work being taken from her with the enormously increasing wealth of the country, she has stuffed her emptiness with vanity. The average woman does not include of course in the average, those noble creatures already free in spirit, who are striving for the new and wider life. The average woman is, let us say it frankly, weak and foolish and unintelligent.

And the men are discovering this! They are getting tired of it. They are demanding of the women that they fulfill better the capacity of helpmates and chums, and when the women fail the men seek their serious life away from them —in business, in politics, in the clubs. The men do not all know *what* is the matter, but they do know that *something* is the matter. Many a man who considers himself an anti-suffragist is bitter against the selfishness and frivolity of women. Many a man would rather pay alimony than be forced to live with one of them. To put it brutally, the reason why men will not cease to love women when they have the vote is that they are ceasing to love them already! The anti-suffragists among the women are on the wrong track; sex alone, however heightened by frivolity and selfishness and charm, is not enough to create love; sex alone can only create passion, and passion is as evanescent as a sunset. Love is too big a thing to be based on sex alone; love is a human thing, demanding human support and human comradeship, and until the women of this country desire and regain the breadth and the depth and the vigor of human life—the chief symbol and weapon of which in a democracy is the vote—they will strive in vain to find and to keep the love that should be theirs by right of human endeavor and human happiness.

SIDE-LIGHTS FROM LAWRENCE.

(*Continued from page 10*)

remember another army of marchers in Passaic, 3,000 strong, two-thirds of them women, whom "not outside agitators, but home conditions" forced to march "For Bread and Freedom"; among whom were girls who had been accustomed to working sixty-nine hours a week for $3.30. Let us remember the whole army of workers. As consumers we cannot escape our responsibility. Either we are enslaving people for the sake of money (our few cents saved on each purchase, and the employer's big profits), or we are helping men and women to free themselves.

* For further information concerning the obtaining of union labelled articles, write to the Label Committee of the Women's Trade Union League.

LA FOLLETTE'S MAGAZINE quotes the following story used by Jane Addams in one of her recent suffrage speeches:

"At Hull House in Chicago we have evenings devoted to the drama. Original plays and folk dances are put on by the boys and girls, mostly of foreign parentage, who belong to our settlement. Recently these young people wrote and staged for us a little three-act play dealing with the birth of the national flag. It was not an elaborate production. This is how it went:

First Act.

Two Revolutionary soldiers met.

Said the first, 'Ain't it fierce, we haven't got no flag for this Revolution?'

Said the other, 'Yes; ain't it fierce?'

And they went their ways.

Second Act.

Two Revolutionary generals met.

Said the first, 'Ain't it fierce, we haven't got no flag for this Revolution?'

Replied the second, 'Yes; ain't it fierce?'

And they parted.

Third Act.

General Washington was conversing with Betty Ross. He said, 'Ain't it fierce, we haven't got no flag for this Revolution?'

Betty answered, 'Yes; ain't it fierce? Here, George, hold the baby a minute and I'll make a flag.'

Is it necessary to drag in stock argument number umpty ump against equal suffrage to point the moral that adorns this tale?

We find it more comforting to reflect that, in State after State, we are knocking down the bars of discrimination and opening the way for our present-day Betty Rosses."

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PATRONIZE OUR PATRONS, MENTION "THE WOMAN VOTER."

WOMAN SUFFRAGE AND THE N. Y. LEGISLATURE

(*Continued from page 6*)

Calendar. Attempt to advance bill defeated, but promise of a Special Order promised by Leader Wagner, when he sneeringly remarked that the "ladies" should "have their field day."

March 12. Evening meeting in Assembly Chamber under auspices of Co-operative Committee. Speakers: Miss Mills, Mr. Roe, Mrs. Greeley, Mrs. Brown, Mrs. Boule and Mr. Crosby.

March 13. Hearing before Judiciary Committee of Assembly. Speakers: Miss Mills, Mrs. Gavitt, Mrs. Fisk, Mrs. Blatch, Senator Stilwell and Mr. Murray.

March 13. Judiciary Committee reported bill adversely.

March 19. Senate refused to advance bill. Committee of whole voted to strike out enacting clause, 24 to 18. When Senate reconvened a motion to disagree with the report defeated 19 to 21. Senators Bayne, Burd, Bussey, Cobb, Cronin, Duhamel, Emerson, Griffin, Harte, Heacock, Loomis, Ramsperger, Roosevelt, Sauner, Saxe, Stilwell, T. D. Sullivan, Travis voting to disagree. For this vote Senator Newcomb was paired with Senator Ferris, but disagreement concerning the plan arose and Ferris voted against the bill, while Newcomb was absent.

March 19. Assembly voted 68 to 63 to disagree with adverse report from Judiciary Committee. Bill then went to Committee on Rules.

March 28. Petition signed by 78 assemblymen forced a report of bill from Rules Committee. Assemblymen Gilean, Hoff, Entwistle, Waters, Mathewson, Grauhard, J. Levy, A. J. Levy, Blauvelt, Fitzgerald, Duntz, Milford, Gillen and Bullion all signing although against bill on final vote.

March 29. Bill reported to Assembly by Committee on Rules. Carried 76 to 67. Those in favor being Assemblymen Ahern, Allen, Bainzhaf, Barnes, Baumes, Bell, Bennett, Boylan, Brooks, Campbell, Chanler, Cheney, Chilton, Coleman, Colné, Constantine, Cook, Crane, Crawford, Ebbets, Evans, Farrell, Fleck, Gage, Garvey, Gillett, Goldberg, Goodman, Greenberg, Hart, Heiberger, Heyman, Horton, Karutz, Kennedy, Langhorst, Lent, Macdonald, MacGregor, Machold, Madden, McCue, McGrath, McKee, McKean, Merrill, Metz, Murray, Nelson, Page, Pembleton, Pierce, Prince, Rohl, Ruddick, Ruland, Schector, Schifferdecker, Schmidt, Seeley, Shannon, Shlivek, Slater, Slocum, Stoddard, Sullivan, Thompson, Thorn, Walker, Wende, Wheeler, Willmott, Wilson, Wood, Young, Yule. In great joy over victory, suffrage workers started for the Senate, only to hasten back upon word that Mr. Cuvillier had moved to reconsider the vote and to lay the motion to reconsider on the table. Roll call on this motion to table the motion to reconsider gave Cuvillier 69 votes while we only had 63.

How was the vote of 76 changed to 63 so quickly? In two different ways: first by seven of our friends getting out of the room presumably not knowing that Cuvillier had made his motions; among this number being Assemblymen Barnes, Campbell, Crawford, Farrell, Gage, Walker, Machold. Second, by four men who had voted for us, deliberately going over against us, viz.: Macdonald, of Franklin Co.; McCue, of New York; Sullivan, of Chautauqua, and Thorn, of Erie. Be it said to the credit of Assemblymen Grace and Hoff that while opposed to our bill and voting against it, they were fair-minded enough not to countenance Cuvillier's motions and voted against the motion to table.

In spite of Mr. Murray's repeated attempts to get in a motion to take from the table, the session closed with the Suffrage Bill passed, but still kept from the Senate by the Cuvillier motion.

BY publishing a column on woman suffrage, the New York *Globe* becomes a pioneer. Undoubtedly, now that the trail is blazed, other newspapers will follow the lead. Miss Ethel Loyd Patterson, editor of the column, finds a hearty response from readers, thus proving that there is a demand for just such service.

The first gift to the Ohio campaign fund came to us from Mr. and Mrs. Frederick Nathan for $50. Mrs. Penfield will receive and send to Mrs. Upton, treasurer of the Ohio Suffrage Association, any gifts that Party friends wish to go to this campaign. More and more we realize that Ohio's fight is our fight and that upon Ohio's victory the fate of the other campaign States may depend as the amendment in Ohio will go to the voters before it does in the other States.

FROM THE ASSEMBLY DISTRICTS

EDITED BY

MRS. BANNISTER MERWIN.

To Leaders: Will you not appoint some one in your district to act as a reporter to THE VOTER, and send the name to Mrs. Merwin? Lack of proportion in these reports is due, not to partiality but to the fact that almost no material has been sent in this month. Mrs. Merwin cannot successfully edit this department without your co-operation. News items should be received by the 15th of each month. Please communicate with Mrs. Merwin in time to make the June number of THE VOTER more representative of the activity of the Party.—[ED.]

From the 15th Assembly District comes the following from Mrs. Frederick Nathan, the district leader: April found the 15th Assembly District right up to the mark. On Tuesday, April 2nd, Mrs. Julian Heath, President of the Housewifes' League, was guest of honor at the club. Though the rain on that afternoon came down in torrents, a small but exceedingly interested audience was present and listened attentively to Mrs. Heath. On Tuesday, April 9th, Dr. Rosalie Morton visited the club and spoke to those present on "Health and Efficiency." Proceeds of the collection which was taken up showed how much the members appreciate these weekly meetings. On Tuesday, April 16th, Mrs. Mary Livermore, of Yonkers, gave her "Symposium of Poster Talks." The speakers and subjects were:

"The People," by Mrs. E. L. Foster.

"Sauce for the Goose," "Sauce for the Gander," by Mrs. Margaret Beale.

"Votes for Workers," by Miss Sarah McPike.

"The Enfranchisement," by Miss Sievers.

"Justice," by Mrs. James Blaine Walker.

Many letters were sent to the various delegates from the 15th Assembly District. These delegates went to their respective conventions well instructed to insert a woman suffrage plank in their platforms.

In the 4th District of the Borough of Queens, Cora Perry Hamilton, leader, reports the following: On April 16th, at Archer's Hall, Jamaica, Dr. Anna Howard Shaw talked to an audience of over two hundred people. The enrollments from this meeting number sixty-one, a goodly showing.

On March 11th there was a meeting of the 20th Assembly District, leader Mrs. Buckhold, at the East Side Settlement, 540 East 76th Street. In spite of large opposition when the speaker, Miss Freeman, first began her subject, many at the close of the meeting declared their intention of marching in the parade, and fifteen pledges being signed. A number of VOTERS were sold.

The Union Meeting for the 18th, 24th and 26th Assembly Districts was held at the People's Tabernacle on April 11th. The speakers were Mrs. Nathan, the Hon. John Crosby and Miss Dock. There was music by pupils of Miss Dorothy Freifeld. The meeting was well attended, about 130 being present. On the 28th of March an interesting debate was held in the parlors of the Emeline York Tyndall Hotel. Among the debaters were the Misses Pfeiffer, Read, Hamberg and Chapman.

25TH ASSEMBLY DISTRICT.

Mrs. Raymond Brown addressed a suffrage meeting at the residence of Miss Lawson, 136 West 11th Street.

ON April 6th a charming tea was held at the home of Mrs. A. H. Southwick, 116 West 11th Street. The speaker of the afternoon was Miss Caroline Clifton Knapp, whose interesting and convincing talk won over several guests to the Woman Suffrage Party. Mrs. Howe, leader of the 25th Assembly District, made a short speech and gave notices of future meetings. She also successfully appealed for parade pledges. Miss Parks made a short, interesting address, the subject being the "Canvassing of the District." The rooms were prettily decorated in yellow, and the tea table blossomed with daffodils. Altogether it was a most successful afternoon.

Miss Parks also spoke at a suffrage tea given April 20th, by Mrs. Bannister Merwin, at the Earle, Waverly Place.

In addition to these afternoon meetings, the 25th District held an evening meeting at the studio of Mrs. J. C. Johansen, 62 Washington Square. Miss Vida Sutton gave readings from Olive Schreiner. Mrs. Frederick Nathan, Mrs. James Duane Livingston and Mrs. Frederick C. Howe took part in a mock debate; and the California campaign song was sung by Gertrude Livingston and Tom Rector.

The monthly mass meeting of the district was held on April 15th, at the Metropolitan Temple. The subject was "Ida Tarbell Answered." Miss

Tarbell's article on "The Uneasy Woman" was answered by Beatrice Forbes-Robertson, with her usual charm and wit. "Making a Man of Herself" was answered by Charlotte Perkins Gilman, who also recited an original poem in response to an enthusiastic encore. "The Business of Being a Woman" was answered by Rev. Anna Howard Shaw, who also was obliged to respond to an encore, and "The Homeless Daughters" was cleverly discussed by Rheta Childe Dorr.

On April 11th and again on April 13th, four new plays were offered by The Twenty-five Players of the 25th District, under the management of Mrs. Charles H. Caffin. An interesting novelty was a series of tableaux of "The Seven Ages of Woman," arranged by Mrs. Charles H. Caffin. A play not on the printed program was a comedy called "The Parade," acted by Mrs. Coleman, Mrs. Cheney and Mrs. Gouterman.

A new activity of the 25th District was the Leap Year Dance given in the Grand Opera House Ball Room, Eighth Avenue and 23rd Street, on Friday evening, April 19th.

After May 1st and during Mrs. Howe's absence for the Summer, the 25th District will be in charge of the vice-leader, Mrs. James Duane Livingston, 28 Seventh Avenue. The May captains' meeting will be held with Mrs. Livingston, May 6th.

The 27th Assembly District has been invited by Mr. B. W. B. Brown, of the Republican Club, to hold a meeting at the club's headquarters. The date has not yet been set. On April 25th, at 8 o'clock, there will be a meeting of the 27th Assembly District, Colored Branch. Mr. George Allen is arranging for this meeting.

THE WAGE-EARNERS' SUFFRAGE LEAGUE.

The Wage-Earners' Suffrage League has been extremely busy through the past month. Many girls are holding successful meetings both instructive and, we hope, far-reaching in their results. At Christodora House, 147 Avenue B, many meetings have been held and parade pledges signed. There is among the girls' clubs a tremendous interest in the coming parade. Miss Cassard, of 95 Rivington Street, The College Settlement, has been actively engaged in the Wage Earners' League work, and her girls have been successfully approached on the subject of suffrage and the parade. A very interesting meeting was held at the Virginia Hotel, 228 East 12th Street, April 2nd. The following has been sent to Miss Freeman from the Wednesday Neighborhood Club of Public School 63, Mrs. F. Klauber, secretary:

My Dear Miss Freeman:

The Wednesday Neighborhood Club instructed me to inform you that the members of it will not attend the march as a club but individually. We will try to do our best to get as many as possible to pledge to march.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. F. Klauber, *Secretary.*

The New York Girls' Club Association had a meeting at 2 West 64th Street on April 14th. Chairman of the meeting was Miss Virginia Potter. Miss Leonora O'Reilly spoke, also Miss Elizabeth Freeman. A meeting of the Harlem Federation was held at 24 East 103rd Street, at which twenty-eight parade pledges were signed. It is most interesting and inspiring to see the interest aroused in these young girls, both the school clubs and the wage-earners.

The Voter hopes to publish a full report of the following meeting:

SENATORS VS. WORKING-WOMEN.

Sentimentality of New York Senators in Equal Suffrage Debate Answered by Common Sense of Working Women

JOINT MASS-MEETING

Wage-Earners' League and Collegiate Equal Suffrage League

Cooper Union, April 22d, 8 P. M.

"Now there is nobody to whom I yield in respect and admiration and devotion to the sex."

Answered by Mollie Schepps, shirt waist maker.

"Cornelia's Jewels. Where are they to-day?"

Answered by Melinda Scott, hat trimmer.

"The anti-suffragist tells me: 'Be careful, be careful, how you destroy the incentive to motherhood. We speak for motherhood. Save that.'"

Answered by Leonora O'Reilly, shirt maker.

"Women—they are peaceful; they are sympathetic; they minister to man in the home."

Answered by Mrs. Hefferly, neckwear maker.

"Now there is no question in the world to my mind but what the family and family relation are a more important thing than any law or any law-making or holding of office."

Answered by Maggie Hinchey, laundry worker.

"We want to relieve women of the burdens and responsibilities of life."

Answered by Clara Lemlich, shirt waist maker.

"Get women into the arena of politics with its alliances and distressing contests—the delicacy is gone, the charm is gone, and you emasculize women."

Answered by Rose Schneidermann, cap maker

Working women! Don't fail to come and hear what Senators McClellan, Thomas, Sage and some of the assemblymen have said about women.

They forgot all about the four hundred thousand working women in New York City. They forgot the eight hundred thousand working women in New York State. Come just to show the gentlemen we have arrived.

WADLEIGH HIGH SCHOOL.

A ROUSING meeting was held at the Wadleigh High School on April 18th, when 500 girls listened to a spirited talk by Elizabeth Freeman. Enthusiasm ran high and after the meeting the girls flocked to the platform to give their names for the parade and to carry the big Party banner.

The play, "How the Vote was Won," will be given the day before the parade to gather in those not yet convinced.

A club which is in process of organization will enter the parade as a body.

One of the notable suffrage events of the winter was the dinner given by the Men's League in coöperation with the Woman Suffrage Party organization of the 19th Assembly District, which took place March 21st, at the Hotel Marseille.

The dinner occured at a dramatic moment and in a locality fitted to add a special pungency to the remarks of the speakers. For not only did it follow immediately upon the culmination of the legislative action at Albany, but Mr. Murray, sponser for the Woman Suffrage Bill in the Assembly and Mr. Pollock, who betrayed it in the Senate, were representatives of the district.

Mr. William C. Amos, president of the 19th Assembly District Republican Club, spoke long and eloquently upon "Woman as a Comrade in Politics." Professor Beard, of Columbia University, spoke upon "The Common Man and the Franchise," while Max Eastman paid his respects to Colonel Roosevelt and his recent pronouncements in the *Outlook*. Other speakers were Mrs. Charlotte Perkins Gilman, Mrs. Mary Austin and Miss Marion Tilden Burritt, leader of the 19th Assembly District.

Mr. James Lees Laidlaw was chairman and many members of the Columbia faculty, as well as men connected with local political organizations, were among the guests.

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PARTY ORGANIZATION.

Three years ago, a large body of suffrage workers, fully alive to the value of group work and the propaganda work of general suffrage organizations, realized that in addition to all these activities some more intensive political work must be undertaken. Especially did a massive, unwieldy congested city like New York call for some drastic method whereby it could be organized for suffrage, leavened with suffrage doctrine, and whereby the suffrage demand could be forced upon the attention of our State senators and assemblymen. The well-tried and efficient method used by the political parties themselves lay ready to our hands. The Assembly District, the unit which sends an assemblyman to Albany, became the unit of our organization. We have organized in the 63 Assembly Districts with a leader for each district, and as fast as we have been able to secure them, a captain for each election district. In some districts we have a leader and only three or four captains and a few hundred enrollments; in others, like the 25th of Manhattan, there, under the active captains and her district officers, is a captain for every one of the twenty-eight election districts, a committee of captains at large to see that things are done, a political committee, a dramatic committee, a public demonstration committee, a sustaining district club. The Party organization covers all conventions of the political parties, interviews candidates, and follows up legislators throughout their term. It co-operates in every possible way with all other suffrage organizations.

Come to the New Women Suffrage Party Headquarters, accessible, convenient, beautiful. A place for work and for rest, for planing and discussing, all welcome.

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Amelia E. Barr
The well-known authoress, writes:
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Prof. Thomas B. Stillman, M.S., Ph.D.
The well-known research chemist of Stevens' Institute, writes:
"The chemical union of the constituents of Sanatogen is a true one, representative of the highest skill in the formation of a product containing phosphorous in the organic phosphate condition, and so combined that digestion and assimilation of Sanatogen are rendered complete with the greatest ease."

Mme. Sarah Grand
Author of the "Heavenly Twins," writes:
"I began to take Sanatogen after nearly four years' enforced idleness from extreme debility and felt the benefit almost immediately. And now, after taking it steadily three times a day for twelve weeks, I find myself able to enjoy both work and play again, and also am able to do as much of both as I ever did."

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MAY TWELFTH IN THE CHURCHES.

Is your minister to preach a sermon asking for the mother's direct voice in the State on May 12th? If not, ask him why and send us his answer.

This is "Mother's Day" and ministers all over the State have been asked to mention justice to mothers as well as to eulogize them abstractly. Many of our New York men have promised to remember. Watch the paper for notices! Mrs. Penfield suggests that if your minister is at a loss for an appropriate text that you refer him to Jeremiah 6:14, which reads, "They have healed also the hurt of the daughter of my people slightly, saying, Peace, peace; when there is no peace."

THE COUNSEL FOR THE DEFENCE.

MUNICIPAL politics, a fight against ring control and a campaign for the election of a reform mayor make Leroy Scott's new book, *The Counsel for the Defence,* an engrossing story.

The big, significant feature, however, is the case presented by Katherine West, the "lady lawyer." She and Arnold Bruce, editor of the yellowest journal in town, are fighting for clean politics and the vindication of her father, convicted of accepting a bribe. That Katherine should succeed in getting the necessary evidence, that any woman should succeed in "man's" work, is beyond the journalist's belief. When it comes to a question of marriage and Katherine pleads for "work, interesting work," he declares, "You are going to be a failure—a fizzle—a fiasco!—a pitiable, miserable, humiliated fiasco! And time will prove it!"

"What you don't seem to understand," she says, "is that I have the same need, the same love, for work that you have. If you could only recognize, Arnold, that I have the same feelings in this matter that you have, then you would understand me. I demand for myself the right that all men possess as a matter of course—the right to work!"

"If you must work," he cried, "why, of course, you can help in the housework."

"But I also demand the right to choose my work. Why should I do work which I do not like, for which I have no aptitude, and which I should do poorly, and give up work which interests me, for which I have been trained, and for which I believe I have an aptitude?"

To all the old arguments, she concedes, "Life for us women is in a stage of transition. . . . It will be difficult for me to manage, I know. But I'm certain I can manage it!"

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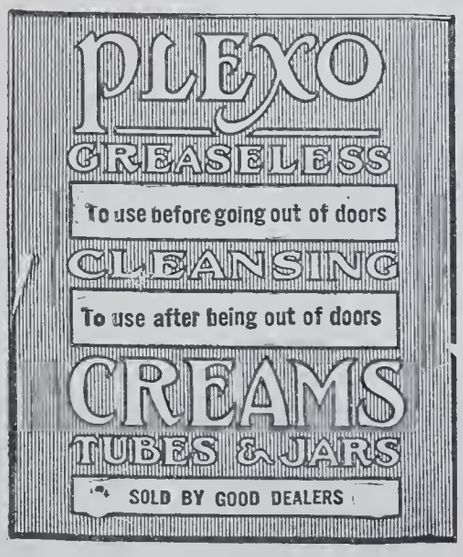

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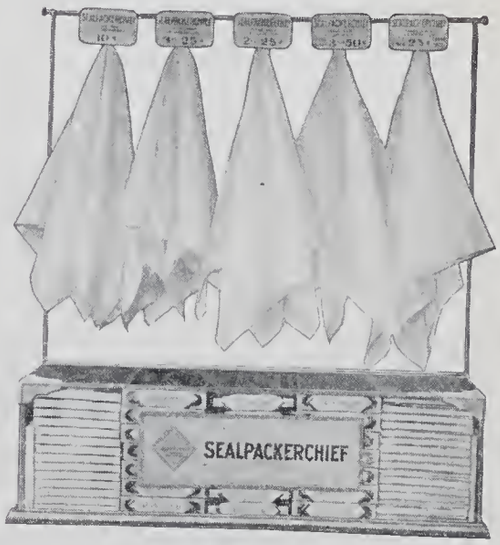

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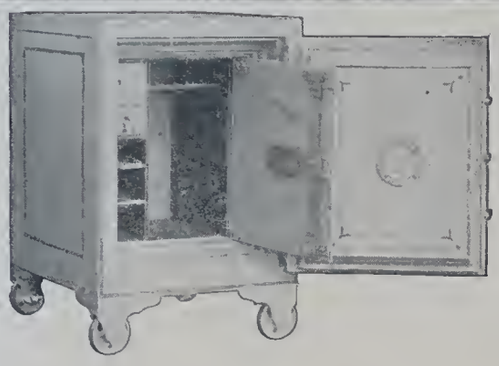

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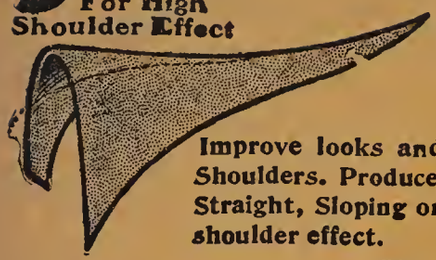

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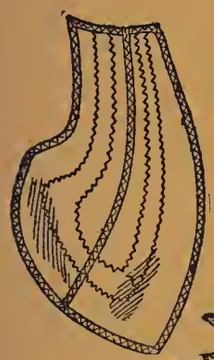

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